The dynamics of framing

The Dynamics of Framing: Image, Emotion and the European Migration Crisis

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Abstract

The macro-framing literature presents something of a theoretical conundrum. While an inherently dynamic concept, most work has treated frames as static. In addition to leaving our theories of framing underspecified, this also has implications for how we go about understanding and resolving our major societal problems, including flows of displaced people, the setting for this paper. We also lack insight into the ways in which media organizations, some of the most important arbiters of understanding in our society, shape the framing process. We address these points by investigating the ways in which the photograph of Alan Kurdi lying dead on a beach in Turkey radically transformed the framing of the European migration crisis by UK newspapers. In so doing, we develop theory about two important aspects of framing change. First, in showing how macro-frames are more malleable than often perceived, we develop the concept of an emotional array that we show is central to understanding how frame composition changes over time. Second, we expose the distinct mechanisms by which framing change takes place in media organizations characterized by different ideologies.

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What we need are gunships sending these boats back to their own country.… Some of our towns are festering sores, plagued by swarms of migrants and asylum seekers, shelling out benefits like Monopoly money. Make no mistake, these migrants are like cockroaches (The Sun, 17th April 2015[1]).

Aylan Kurdi[2] has shaken us from a national stupor. The image of the three-year-old, face down in the sea, has finally made visible the fact we have so often ignored - that thousands of refugees die in their desperate attempts to reach safety. … we finally see the "swarms" of "migrants" as people, human beings, just like us, but in need of help (The Guardian, 8th September 2015).

How societal issues are framed matters. Organizational, public policy and social outcomes are invariably contingent upon the ways in which associated issues are framed (e.g., Ansari, Wijen & Gray, 2013; Furnari, 2018; Meyer & Höllerer, 2010; Lounsbury, Ventresca & Hirsch, 2003). In this sense, frames are rhetorical devices used by actors to try to convince others of the utility of a position (Fiss & Zajac, 2006) by creating a context that determines what constitutes meaningful models of legitimate activity (Hirsch, 1986).

However, our understanding of how and why the framing of societal issues, particularly contentious ones, changes over time remains nascent. This is primarily because our conceptualization of macro-level frames and the meanings associated with the issues that they present are largely static with a focus on outcomes rather than processes (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Hahn, Preuss, Pinkse & Figge, 2014; Litrico & David, 2017; Polletta, 2019). Litrico and David (2017) have provided one of the only studies that has adopted a dynamic approach to track "trajectories" of macro-frames over time, but what remains lacking here and across the framing literature is understanding how and why frame composition changes, and how this influences frame prominence. This is significant because without insight into these issues, not only will our theories of framing remain incomplete but so also will our understanding of how to reach agreement on pressing societal concerns (Furnari, 2018; Litrico

[1] This paper draws on online versions of published articles therefore page numbers are not included.
[2] 'Aylan' was used in some of the initial newspaper coverage but his name was in fact 'Alan'.

& David, 2017). The ongoing inability of European governments to deal effectively with the migration crisis, the focus of our study, is an excellent, and tragic, example of this.

In our heavily mediated world (Luhmann, 2000), discerning how framing takes place necessitates a close understanding of the workings of the media, powerful social arbiters that not only reflect but actively craft societal opinion (Bail, 2012; Bednar, 2012; Steidley & Colen, 2017). However, our understanding of what drives changes in media framing remains underdeveloped. As the opening quotes to the paper indicate, the framing of an issue can change quickly and fundamentally. In our case, the pivotal event that precipitated change in the framing of the European migration crisis was the publication of the photograph of three-year-old Alan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach. The responses to the photograph point not only to the importance of understanding the dynamics of framing change, but also to the potential role of emotions in driving such change, again something that is not well understood (Lok, Creed, DeJordy & Voronov, 2017; Zietsma, Toubiana, Voronov & Roberts, 2019). Therefore, our purpose in this paper is to develop theory regarding the dynamics of framing, and in particular the role of emotions, in media organizations.

Our investigation allows us to make theoretical contributions to an emerging understanding of framing as an inherently dynamic process. First, we reveal frames to be much more malleable than previously understood with the possibility of rapid changes to their composition and prominence. We show that central to this revised understanding of framing change is the concept of an emotional array. Second, we expose the mechanisms by which framing change takes place in media organizations. We show how iconic images can exert powerful emotional and instrumental effects on media organizations and how the ideologies of those organizations impact the duration of framing change.

THEORETICAL FRAMING

Our theoretical starting point is that societal issues, such as the European migration crisis, are not objective facts but rather are given meaning by those who have an interest in them (Bansal & Penner, 2002; Blumer, 1971). Thus, important in understanding how change takes place is to uncover how significant issues and associated events are framed and contested by constituent groups (Furnari, 2018; Lounsbury et al., 2003).

Frames and Framing

While introduced as a concept by Burke (1937), it is Goffman (1974) who can be credited with more fully articulating an approach to frames and framing that has subsequently been developed across the social sciences, including communication, economics, linguistics, organization theory, psychology, and sociology (see Cornelissen & Werner, 2014, for a review). According to Goffman (1974: 21), frames are "schemata of interpretation" that are continually in use and allow users "to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of occurrences defined in its terms." This definition of frames was further developed by Entman (1993: 52, emphasis in original) who noted that "to frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient*." In this way, frames can simplify and condense aspects of the world in ways that can mobilize potential supporters and "demobilize antagonists" (Snow & Benford, 1988: 198). Frames can thus be seen as representations of the exercise of power (Butler, 1997).

Work in this tradition has developed insight into the ways in which actors engage in "framing contests" to advance their positions (Kaplan, 2008; see also Gurses & Ozcan, 2015). Often key to the outcome of such contests is the shifting of structural conditions, as Kellogg (2011) showed in demonstrating how hospital reforms only gained traction when societal discourse shifted to support them. However, as Cornelissen and Werner (2014) pointed out, understanding of how such conditions influence framing struggles over time remains nascent.

A significant reason for this is that the conceptualization of *a frame* has been predominantly static. This has led to calls for research to examine framing as a more dynamic process (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Furnari, 2018; Giorgi, 2017; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020).

Litrico and David's (2017) study of environmental issues of noise and emissions in the civil aviation industry is a rare empirical investigation of how issues and associated "framing trajectories" can evolve over time. Ansari et al.'s (2013: 1018) work on climate change also conceptualized a more dynamic approach to framing showing how frame convergence can lead to greater institutional stability. Reinecke and Ansari (2020) further encourage us to go beyond static conceptualizations of frames and demonstrate how frames can emerge from interactions between framing agents and their constituents. While these papers all provide important insights into framing processes, understanding of the ways in which the composition of frames change over time remains lacking. Not only is there a scarcity of studies that provide comparative analyses of the content of frames but the ways in which such content changes and the influence of this on processes of framing change remain largely unknown. There is therefore a need for research into the dynamics of framing that compares how different frames change at different speeds in different patterns (Furnari, 2018). We build on this line of thought with a similar belief that examining how and why framing changes over time can help us uncover why some issues trigger change but others do not.

Emotions

In addition to the lack of attention accorded to understanding the dynamics of framing, we also lack insight into the role of emotions in framing processes. Noting how preferencing the cognitive has resulted in emotional mechanisms largely going unacknowledged, Jasper (2011: 286) lamented "virtually all the cultural models and concepts currently in use (e.g., frames, identities, narratives) are misspecified if they do not include explicit emotional causal mechanisms. Yet few of them do." Collins (2004: 103) similarly noted that while emotions

have often been overlooked in favor of the structural and cognitive in sociological theorizing, "the emotional part gives us something essential for a realistic theory–its dynamics." Giorgi (2017) also pointed to the importance of uncovering the emotional resonance of frames, but most recent work that has advanced our understanding of frames and framing has been almost entirely silent on the role of emotions (e.g., Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Furnari, 2018; Hahn et al., 2014; Litrico & David, 2017).

In pursuing our interest in emotions, we adopt a sociological approach whereby emotions, while they may be sensed individually, are inherently social and potentially political because they are experienced in a world of interactions (Collins, 2004; Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005; Voronov, 2014) and relationships (Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta, 2001; Stets & Turner, 2014; Voronov & Weber, 2016). Thus, emotions are "conditioned by one's place in the social world and one's relationship with others, especially the groups to which one belongs" (Zietsma et al., 2019: 4). In this respect, emotions are not only the "glue" that bind people together but also the mechanisms that generate commitment to social and cultural structures (Turner & Stets, 2006). Collins (2004: 104) contended that such mechanisms are most intensely exposed when existing understandings of social reality are "broken". This is exemplified in Cornelissen, Mantere and Vaara's (2014) account of the 2005 Stockwell shooting that showed how shared emotions were pivotal in pushing individuals into a collective, and tragically erroneous, framing of a situation.

Social interactions and the accompanying shared emotional experiences have been theorized to be important in the eventual institutionalization of micro-level frames (Gray, Purdy & Ansari, 2015) and the growth of social movements, often articulated in the context of motivational frames. Weber, Heinze and DeSoucey (2008), for example, suggested that the producers of grass-fed meat and dairy products were motivated to continue by a strong emotional connection to their work. Sine and Lee (2009: 136) made a similar observation, suggesting that the construction and spread of motivational frames in the US wind energy

industry depended on "affective processes of persuasion and socialization." In this sense, emotions "give symbols, identities, narratives, and other carriers of culture their power to move people" (Jasper & Polletta, 2019: 64; see also Gould, 2009; Summers-Effler, 2010).

Thus, emotions can provide energy to bring about shifts in understanding or approach (Collins, 2004; Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) depending on audience receptivity (Bail, Brown & Mann, 2017; Massa, Helms, Voronov & Wang, 2017). Emotions can impact our feelings of solidarity with group members (Collins, 2004; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen & Smith-Crowe, 2014) and encourage moral judgements of what is right or wrong, and hence legitimate (Wright et al., 2017; Zietsma & Tobiana, 2018). It is important to point out, however, that those espousing 'positive' emotions can be opposed by those promoting alternate emotions, such as resentment or hate (Betz, 1994; Fetner, 2008; Greenfield, 1992).

Whether positive or negative, the emotional response to an event is often rapid (Huy, Corley & Kraatz, 2014) but usually fleeting. Ekman (1999: 54), for example, noted that emotions are triggered very quickly and have an effect that lasts "not hours or days but more in the realm of minutes and seconds." Some emotions, though, can be longer lasting, sitting in the "background" to help shape ongoing reactions to events (Jasper & Polletta, 2019). These shared emotional interactions can link individuals across time and space (Friedland, Mohr, Roose & Gardinali, 2014; Gray et al., 2015). Yet, we know little about how these processes unfurl over time (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) suggesting a need to "rethink" our conception of frames to uncover the emotional processes "hidden inside" (Jasper, 2011: 299). As Zietsma et al. (2019: 8) noted, "enriching our theories with a better understanding of emotions and their influences represents an important challenge and opportunity."

Framing and the Media

The media are central to the framing of issues but there has been surprisingly little explicit investigation in the organization and management literature of how the media shape public

understanding of particular issues. We have even less understanding of the factors that influence the role of the media in the framing process. Roulet and Clemente (2018) in fact described the media as a "black box" in need of opening up to uncover how influence flows from and to them. There is, however, acknowledgement that the media play a defining role in framing public events (Bail, 2012; Scheufele, 1999), able to "accelerate, impede or set the policy agenda" (Lenette & Miskovic, 2018: 114). The media, therefore, do not just reflect societal opinion, but are actively involved in its crafting (Bail, 2012; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Steidley & Colen, 2017).

The media attach meaning to and understanding of a story through two mechanisms (Clemente & Roulet, 2015). On the one hand, they create "common knowledge" by forging connections between what is otherwise a fragmented audience; on the other, they provide legitimacy by creating confidence in an audience that what is presented "is worthy of being told" (see also Bitekine & Haack, 2015). This is particularly the case with the mainstream 'quality press'[3], that are seen to have an authority and reliability that other media, in particular social media, lack (EBU, 2018; van der Meer & Verhoeven, 2013).

Roulet and Clemente (2018) have criticized much existing research for treating the media as a "homogenous ensemble" suggesting that we need work that examines media organizations as individual actors. This is evidenced by considering how the media engage with similar issues in different ways with the ideology of media owners, editors, and journalists often influencing content. Fryberg et al. (2012), for example, showed how the political ideology of newspapers framed the way they reported on an Arizona anti-immigration bill. It has also been suggested that journalists impose their own cognitive frames on the stories that they write (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Engesser & Brüggemann, 2015; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). However, Vossen, van Gorp and Schulpen (2018) found only a weak correlation between journalists'

[3] The 'quality press' are the more 'serious' newspapers, in contrast to the sensationalist 'tabloids.'

frames and the framing of their stories. More significant are editors, able to exert influence based on to whom they give a voice and how they subsequently position attributed comments (Patriotta, Gond & Schulz, 2011). These actions are carried out in the understanding that each media organization not only serves to connect its followers but must also comply with demands from, among others, suppliers, customers and regulators (Roulet & Clemente, 2018).

While pressure on media organizations to accede to the wishes of key stakeholders can be pronounced, Vaara, Tiernari and Laurila (2006: 804) showed in their work on a merger between Finnish and Swedish pulp and paper firms, that journalists' "use of specific legitimating strategies is not likely to be fully intentional or conscious." Thus, the behaviors of media actors are, at least in part, shaped by the norms and values of the organizations in which they work (Bitekine & Haack, 2015). Further, media actors' understanding of issues is also an outcome of the evolving public discourse that they help to construct (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). As such, the ways in which issues are framed by media actors will vary according to internal and external norms and expectations. However, we have little insight into how these evolving pressures influence, and are influenced by, changes in framing over time.

An important aspect of the way in which the media frame issues is through their use of images, particularly during times of crises. Boltanski (1999) characterized this as "moral spectatorship" with the media presenting from a distance "images of unbearable suffering and inhumanity" (Mortensen & Trenz, 2016: 345; see also Courpasson, 2016). It is also logical to assume that photographs will directly influence media actors, but how this process works and the duration of any such influence remain open questions.

The impact of photographs is driven by several distinct characteristics. First, whereas verbal text is consumed sequentially, images appear immediately in full and are processed very quickly to allow an audience to potentially receive a mass of historical, cultural, political, ideological and other contextual information (Doelker, 2002; Meamber, 2014; Meyer,

Jancsary, Höllerer & Boxenbaum, 2018). Further, this material can also be simultaneously consumed by otherwise disconnected individuals.

Second, photographs become inserted into a set of relationships within an ideology (Burgin, 1992; Hariman & Lucaites, 2007), often being successively reconstituted according to varied political and public interests. This is particularly true when photographs become viewed as "iconic" as a consequence of their frequent appearances in the media, representation of a significant event, and propensity for social impact (Perlmutter, 1998; Prøitz, 2018). This was famously illustrated in the photograph of naked nine-year-old Phan Thi Kim Phúc running in terror from a napalm attack that came for some to personify the injustice of the Vietnam War. In this respect, we can see that what is depicted in a photograph is not neutral but socially and culturally located within a system of representation.

Third, images have the potential to both communicate and activate emotions (Doelker, 2002; Meyer et al., 2013). In fact, it has been theorized that images can create a powerful emotional impact that precedes active awareness. In this way, audiences can become affectively, aesthetically and corporeally engaged in a way that surpasses purely cognitive processing of an image's content (Konstantinidou, 2008; Meyer et al., 2018). It is thus apparent that photographs can trigger emotional responses but we are at a nascent stage of understanding how such responses influence framing (Jones et al., 2017). This lack of insight is even more marked when considering the influence of photographs and emotions on media actors.

In summary, it is apparent that despite a significant body of work on frames and framing, there remain notable gaps in our understanding. First, we lack insight into how and why the composition of frames change over time. Second, while it has recently become apparent that emotions can play an important role in providing the energy to initiate change in social settings, the ways in which emotions may catalyze framing change has not been developed. Third, while

we know that mediated images can have an emotional impact on those who see them, the ways in which photographs – or indeed other artefacts – can create an emotional response that influences how media firms may alter their framing of a contentious issue remain unknown. Our paper develops theory across these areas.

METHODS

Research Setting

Our interest is in the impact of a disruptive event, the publication of the photograph of Alan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach, on the framing of the European migration crisis by the United Kingdom (UK) media. What is important in this context is that frames, as all social phenomena, are understood in their historical context. Therefore, our first task was to uncover the ways in which migration has been represented over time in the UK. Particularly important in this process is the role of the State in representing groups in particular ways, a process in which policy acts as central framing mechanism by which the ontological status of whole populations can be constructed (see, for example, Butler, 2009).

Historical Representation of Migration in the UK. We conducted a search of policy documents, media reporting, and academic writing to uncover the ways in which migration has been represented in the UK. Two themes clearly emerged: one presented migrants as relocating to increase their economic resources and thus a potential threat to the way of life of UK citizens; the other positioned them as desperate people in need of a refuge to escape a threat. We briefly discuss each of these framings in turn.

Our assessment revealed a long history of politicians and others espousing a need to control access of potential immigrants to the UK going back to the 1905 Aliens Act as the first legislative attempt at modern-day immigration control (Pellew, 1989). The debate during the passage of the Aliens Act through the House of Lords centered on the ways in which new arrivals, primarily from Eastern Europe, were taking housing and jobs from British nationals,

and driving down wages (Hansard, 1905). Subsequently, the 1919 Aliens Restriction Act, passed in the context of mass unemployment following World War I, was designed to exert stringent controls on who could enter and work in the UK. The Act was reviewed annually until 1971 when it was replaced by the Immigration Act, again designed primarily to control the entrance of economic migrants to the UK (Adams, 2015). The Parliamentary and public debates that accompanied these pieces of legislation described migrants as threatening the employment of local people and placing unsustainable strains on public services, most notably health, education, and housing. More recently, then Home Secretary Theresa May's ambition in 2012 to create a "really hostile environment for illegal immigrants" (Kirkup & Winnett, 2012) and the 2016 Referendum in which a majority voted for the UK to leave the European Union both reflected a desire among many UK citizens to reduce the inflow of migrants.

By contrast, there is also an established tradition of the UK offering a safe-haven to those facing trouble in their home countries. These have included the 100,000 Hugenots fleeing religious oppression in France in 1572 (Wilson, 2014) and the tens of thousands of Jews escaping persecution, first from regimes in Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and then from Nazi Germany in the 1930s (Knox, 1997). Further, following Kristallnacht in 1938, Parliament passed a bill that allowed children, most of whom were Jewish, to be relocated to the UK from Germany, Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia through the 'Kindertransport'. Hundreds of people volunteered to act as foster parents in a process that resulted in an influx of approximately 10,000 children (Trueman, 2015). Prior to this, refugees from the Greco-Turkish war arrived in the 1920s, while in May 1937 more than 4,000 Basque children entered the UK to escape the Spanish Civil War (Sim, 2015). The UK also adopted the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol agreeing to take in and protect those persecuted in their home countries. Recently, refugees escaping war and oppression in

Vietnam, Uganda and Kosovo, among others, have also been welcomed to the UK (Sim, 2015). Thus, there is a tradition of UK policy making and public action assisting displaced people.

The European Migration Crisis and Alan Kurdi. In 2015, armed conflicts in several countries, particularly those in Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, led to a sharp increase in people fleeing their home countries and searching for shelter in Europe. According to figures from the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2015), a total of 1,046,599 displaced people arrived in Europe in 2015, up from 280,000 the previous year (BBC, 2016). The vast majority of these, 1,011,712 in 2015, arrived by sea (IOM, 2015); thousands more died on the journey. According to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015), in April 2015 alone, 1,308 people lost their lives trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea (see Kingsley, 2016, for more details).

Among these travelers was three-year-old Alan Kurdi. Shortly after leaving Bodrum, Turkey, on September 2nd, 2015, destined for the Greek island of Kos, the small, overcrowded dinghy carrying Alan and his family capsized. Most of the people in the boat died, including Alan, his older brother Ghalib and his mother Rehana; Alan's father, Abdullah, survived. The picture of Alan Kurdi washed up on a Bodrum beach (see figure 1) and another of him being carried away by a policeman were taken by Turkish photojournalist Nilüfer Demir and quickly spread across the globe. Demonstrating the level of interest in the UK, 24% of the global total of photographs of Alan Kurdi shared on Twitter emanated from UK accounts (Vis, 2015); further, the UK was among the top five countries in numbers of people who searched for Alan Kurdi on Google in the 24 hours after the story broke (Rogers, 2015).

Please insert Figure 1 about here

The photograph rapidly triggered reactions worldwide (see Mortensen, 2017). Charitable donations for refugee organizations soared (e.g., Merrill, 2015; Slovic, Västfjäll, Erlandsson & Gregory, 2017), artists created sand sculptures of him (BBC, 2015), and artwork was produced

based on the photograph, often showing Alan as an angel. More than 140,000 people signed a UK petition asking Parliament to "accept more asylum seekers and increase support for refugee migrants in the UK" (*The Guardian*, September 3rd, 2015). Irish musician Bob Geldof, politicians Yvette Cooper and Nicola Sturgeon, and more than 2,000 UK citizens offered to house refugees in their homes (*Daily Star*, September 7th, 2015). Two days after the photograph appeared, Prime Minister David Cameron "bowed to mounting public and political pressure, saying Britain would accept thousands more Syrian refugees" (*Financial Times*, September 5th, 2015). At the same time, the nature of the debate on migration changed markedly.

Data Sources

In order to capture the changes in the UK media's framing of the European migration crisis, we drew on two sources of data: newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews. The methods that we employed developed as we moved back and forth between data collection and analysis in order to understand the ways in which frames are constructed and changed.

Newspaper Articles. We analyzed newspaper articles from the ten UK national newspapers with sales of over 100,000 daily copies (see Sweney, 2016). These comprised the right-favoring *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Star*, *Daily Express*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, the left-leaning *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror*, and the centerist *The Independent* (see Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani & Sambrook, 2018; Smith, 2017). Newspapers constitute a valuable source of data for studying framing because they "are forums in which stakeholders provide, directly or indirectly, accounts and rationales for their positions during controversies" (Patriotta et al., 2011: 1813). The media constitute "the court of public opinion" (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1974) and can "both influence and reflect societal values" (Lamin & Zaheer, 2012: 56).

Following protocols established elsewhere (Bansal & Clelland, 2004; Lamin & Zaheer, 2012), we conducted a keyword search on LexisNexis to identify relevant articles in each

newspaper. The following keywords were used: migration OR immigration OR migrant OR refugee OR asylum. In order to uncover the framing before the release of the image, articles in the time period of May 8th to September 2nd, 2015, were analyzed. We chose to start data collection one day after the UK General Election, held on May 7th, 2015, in order to avoid articles that might be distorted by election campaign activities. For analysis after the release of the image, we selected the time period September 3rd, 2015, to September 2nd, 2016. This represents 118 days before and 366 days after the publication, allowing us to assess the effects of the image over an extended period. This generated 1,032 articles prior to the release of the image, and 3,826 articles afterwards. We only included articles in our analyses in which the keywords were present in the article headline. In addition to allowing us to capture the most relevant articles, this also constituted an effective data reduction technique that allowed us to handle the massive amount of data available. Litrico and David (2017) and Höllerer, Jancsary and Grafström (2018) have used similar approaches.

From our data set of ten newspapers, we created a subset consisting of articles published in the leftist *The Guardian* and the right-favoring *The Daily Telegraph*. These newspapers not only offer an ideological balance, they also have a tradition of serious and considered engagement with major societal issues, rather than the more sensationalist approach adopted by many other UK newspapers. Identical articles that appeared in more than one issue of a newspaper (e.g., an earlier and later or national and regional editions) were only included once in our analyses. The subset consisted of 382 articles prior to the release of the image, and 1,573 articles afterwards. We combined a qualitative analysis of all articles published in these two newspapers with a content analysis of the entire data set to develop the depth and breadth of analysis we felt was necessary to reveal framing change across the UK newspaper industry.

Semi-structured Interviews. As we gained insight into the framing of the crisis, it became apparent that we needed greater understanding of decision-making processes and behaviors of

those in newspaper organizations. We therefore conducted seventeen semi-structured interviews with editors and journalists who were involved with newspapers during the European migration crisis. Those interviewed were drawn from a range of organizations including *The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent, The Times, The Sun, Daily Mail,* and *Daily Mirror*. Most of those we interviewed had held multiple positions across different organizations allowing us to gather a broad range of informed views. Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and were fully transcribed with the transcript being returned to the interviewee for checking. Interviews were continued until it became apparent that no new insights into newspaper practices were emerging. These interviews thus enabled us to look inside Roulet and Clemente's (2018) media "black box" and gain additional insights into why and how the ways in which the media framed the European migration crisis changed over time.

Data Analyses

Our approach to data analysis was iterative as we moved back and forth between an emergent understanding and a need to collect more data to further develop our insights. This resulted in a novel approach that spanned five different phases of data analysis.

Step 1: Identification of frames. In order to capture the ways in which the mass displacement of people was framed we built on our analysis of the historical context and engaged in a detailed qualitative analysis of our subset of articles published in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. Following Litrico and David (2017) and Creed, Scully and Austin (2002) we initially coded our data in order to uncover the idea elements that form the "building blocks" of frames in use. In so doing, we applied a constant comparative analysis approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to identify contradictions and inconsistencies within the frames. We developed descriptions for each frame that we refined iteratively as we analyzed our data. Following Lincoln and Guba (1985), we engaged in two methods to check the robustness of our approach. First, we laid out our findings and method to a "disinterested peer", a highly

experienced qualitative scholar not involved in our study. Second, we described the two frames to an industry insider, an experienced former editor of a quality newspaper.

In line with our historical investigation, we found that displaced people arriving in the UK in 2015 and 2016 were framed as either 'migrants' pursuing a better way of life or 'refugees' fleeing a perilous situation in their home countries. Our classification was confirmed by a UNHCR (2016) report that defined migrants as being subject to pull-factors based on a desire to relocate to another country to improve their economic condition, and refugees responding to push-factors that have caused them to flee their homeland because of a fear of being harmed.

Step 2: Determining frame prominence. In order to ascertain the relative prominence of the migrant and refugee frames we engaged in two data analyses. First, using the subset of data from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and following Lamin and Zaheer (2012), Litrico and David (2017) and Toubiana and Zietsma (2017), we applied a pattern-deducing approach (Reay & Jones, 2016). Using the descriptions of each frame we had developed in step one, we coded newspaper articles as representing the refugee or migrant frames, as neutral, or irrelevant. The first author coded each of the 1,955 articles; the second author coded 10% selected at random to provide a coding check; the coding agreement was 95.1% giving us confidence that our classification was appropriate. Articles coded as irrelevant were excluded from all subsequent analyses. The insights from this analysis revealed that a change in the use of the two frames had taken place in both newspapers after publication of the Kurdi image.

Building on these findings, we analyzed all articles from our dataset of ten newspapers. Here we followed Jones and Livne-Tarandach's (2008) argument that frames are revealed in actors' choices of keywords and vocabularies and Loewenstein, Ocasio and Jones' (2012) contention that shifts in the use of words are both reflective and determinant of cultural changes. We counted the occurrences of the keywords "migrant(s)" and "refugee(s)" in each of the 4,858 articles, allowing us to capture any change in vocabulary over time. We then

collated the results according to the ideological position of the newspaper described earlier: *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Star*, *Daily Expres*s, *The Times*, and *The Financial Times* constituted the right-leaning group; *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* made-up the left-favoring group; *The Independent* was excluded because of its centrist positioning. This allowed us to ascertain the influence of the image across newspapers that embrace different ideologies. In line with our qualitative analysis of articles published in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, the findings from our content analysis of the entire data set revealed that the framing of the European migration crisis changed profoundly after publication of the photograph.

While our analyses provided us with important insights into changes in frame prevalence, we lacked understanding of *why* the image had such a profound impact and *how* change occurred. To uncover this, we engaged in qualitative analyses of newspaper articles and interview data.

Step 3: Uncovering emotions. In our analyses of frame prevalence, we had noticed the potential importance of emotional expression in the framing of the crisis. Since emotions also emerged strongly from our interview data and our own engagement with the image, we returned to our subset of newspaper articles from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* and reanalyzed the articles that were classified as constituting the migrant and refugee frames to uncover which emotions were prevalent in the framing of the crisis and how emotional expression had potentially changed after publication of the image. A total of 709 articles were analyzed in this step, 199 articles before and 510 articles after publication of the image.

We first inductively coded the text in each article in order to uncover the emotions associated with each frame. In so doing, we focused on the use of language in context. Thus, while the use of words that specified emotions, such as fear, anger, or shame, were often helpful, it was also important to assess the way in which one or more emotions were expressed

in the wider text. Manning and Kunkel (2018: 59), in their description of emotion coding, stress the importance of capturing not just words but the "social scene", noting how emotions can be "explicitly articulated, made evident through discourse, or observed through action." We therefore captured all three types of emotional expression: specific emotional utterances, descriptions of emotional encounters, and accounts of activities expressing emotions. In total, we isolated 3,006 passages of text in which emotions were present.

Seven prevalent emotions emerged from this analysis: anger, fear and disgust were associated with the migrant frame while compassion, solidarity, anger and shame aligned with the refugee frame. What was also apparent was that these emotions were expressed with varying levels of intensity, something that appeared important to understanding the framing change process. We therefore engaged in further analyses to examine emotional intensity before and after publication of the photograph.

To assess, we engaged in a novel form of emotional "magnitude coding" (Saldaña, 2013). In line with our approach for uncovering the emotions, here our coding drew again not just on words that specified emotions but on the entire discursive context in which emotions were articulated (Manning & Kunkel, 2018). This we felt was a more robust method of capturing the changing levels of intensity at which emotions were expressed as opposed to simply relying on detached comments. Further, this approach allowed us to capture any changes in the use of language associated with different emotions.

In order to determine what constituted a lower or higher level of emotional intensity, we created an emotions coding book with descriptions for different levels of intensity of each emotion we had uncovered. The coding book was created following a review of the emotions literature that we then operationalized for our context. The first author coded text passages containing emotions from 20 articles which were then independently coded by the second author and discussed. While we started with a four-point scale, we found it difficult to

consistently differentiate between levels of intensity, hence we reverted to a three-point scale with scores assigned to each emotion of 1 (low), 2 (medium) and 3 (high).

The first author then coded all text passages containing emotions using the coding book and assigned each an emotion intensity score. For example, a text passage was coded as 'Compassion3' if it recorded a very high level of compassion. We found that our coding sometimes revealed multiple emotions at varying levels of intensity, for example, 'Fear2, Anger3', in the same passage. The second author then analyzed 336 passages, over 10% for each emotion. Our coding agreement was 95.8% giving us confidence in the robustness of our approach. This analysis revealed distinct patterns of change in emotional intensity for each frame across the duration of the study.

Step 4: Visual analysis. Given our observations regarding the impact of the Kurdi photograph, we wanted to further asses why it had such a profound effect. Burgin (1992) holds that as soon as they are perceived, objects within a photograph need to be understood within a constituent system of relationships and an underlying ideology (see also Barthes, 1972). This points to a need to uncover both the signifier and the signified: the representative and what it represents. A proponent of this approach, Barthes (1981) articulated photography as constituting a relationship between the photographer or "operator", the viewer or "spectator", and the object or person being photographed, the "spectrum." The spectrum, in turn, consists of two elements, the "studium" and the "punctum". The studium constitutes a body of information that is recognizable, contextualized, and open to immediate interpretation based on one's "sovereign consciousness." By contrast, the punctum "rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces" the spectator, but in a way that is only available upon reflection, "after the fact" (Barthes, 1981: 26 & 53). Thus, the studium is "rational, coded and cultural" while the punctum is "emotional, uncoded and personal" (Davison, 2014: 38). Our coding of the photograph, therefore, focused on the objects and relationships that were apparent

within the photograph and that engaged us as "spectators". This analysis was informed by a consideration of the surrounding discursive elements that necessarily shaped our understanding of what was happening and why.

Step 5: The mechanisms of framing change. The final step of our analysis involved qualitatively uncovering the mechanisms of framing change across newspaper organizations. For this, we lent heavily on the interview data collected from editors and reporters supplemented with articles published in newspapers that related to the impact of the photograph.

As data collection proceeded, we iteratively travelled back and forth between our data and the literature to align our empirical understanding with our emergent theorizing (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In line with established procedures of qualitative data analysis, the first author coded the data adopting a constant comparison approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The data were reviewed to identify initial concepts that were noted using *in vivo* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) or first order (van Maanen, 1979) codes. The first order codes were then systematically grouped together through successive rounds of axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) that generated higher-order themes (see Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013). At each stage, the process was continued until the first author was satisfied that no new themes were emerging. The entire process and results were then laid out for the second author to review. This included independently coding 10% of the sample and examining the identification and amalgamation of the emergent themes; no new themes emerged as a result of this process.

This analysis revealed the varying ways in which the photograph was perceived within, and subsequently impacted upon, different newspaper organizations. As we explain below, this became revealed in different drivers of framing change. First, we uncover how the emotional and instrumental impacts of the image, internally among newspaper staff and externally among newspaper readers, created the initial impetus for change. Second, we show how this resulted

in corresponding changes in behaviors, such as rapid shifts in resource allocations and the initiation of campaigns for direct action to help the displaced people that Alan Kurdi was seen to represent. Third, we discerned different influences on the duration of effect of the photograph across different newspapers. These were primarily the ideology of the organization and the emotional fatigue among those who engaged with the story over a sustained period, both of which increased the likelihood of coverage of displaced people being supplanted by other emerging issues. Because of the lack of previous work on the mechanisms of framing change, we also engaged in a further process of sensemaking by testing our emerging ideas in discussions with others involved in framing research who confirmed the rigor of our method and logic of our findings.

FINDINGS

We break down our findings into three main parts that collectively reveal insights into the dynamics of framing by UK newspaper organizations. First, we demonstrate the ways in which the Kurdi photograph precipitated a rapid change in the emphasis given within newspaper organizations to the different ways in which flows of people moving across Europe were framed. Second, we reveal the pivotal role of *emotional arrays* in understanding the process of framing change. Finally, we uncover how and why framing change took place.

Changing Frame Emphasis

Our first finding concerns the remarkable speed with which the Kurdi photograph led to newspaper organizations supplanting the previously dominant migrant frame with the refugee frame. It is then also apparent how ideology influenced the framing process. Our coding of articles in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* showed a dramatic shift in frame prominence after the image was published. Of the 382 collated articles published prior to the death of Alan Kurdi, 138 (36.13%) were coded as constitutive of the migrant frame, 61 (15.97%) of the refugee frame; 105 (27.49%) as neutral in that they presented a balanced account, and 78

(20.42%) as irrelevant since they covered an issue unrelated to the crisis. For the period after the release of the image, 1,573 articles were analyzed. The first three days saw a tremendous upsurge of articles coded as featuring the refugee frame (35 of the 49 articles published, or 71.43%). In this same period, only 3 articles (6.12%) were coded as exemplifying the migrant frame, 10 (20.41%) were neutral and one (2.04%) was irrelevant. In total, after the image was published, 133 (8.46%) articles were coded as characteristic of the migrant frame, 377 (23.97%) were coded as featuring the refugee frame, 541 (34.39%) were coded as neutral and 522 (33.19%) of the articles were coded as irrelevant. Figure 2 provides a monthly assessment of the coded articles, vividly demonstrating the dramatic swing that took place in September 2015 in the prevalence of frame use. From that point on, the refugee frame remained dominant only dropping below the migrant frame in August 2016.

Please insert Figure 2 about here

The use of the keywords "migrant(s)" and "refugee(s)" in the entire data set is similarly revealing. In the 118 days prior to the release of the image, we identified 1,032 articles that focused on the crisis; this number increased to 3,826 for the 366 days afterwards, a rise from 8.74 articles on average per day to 10.45. Before the picture was published, the word "migrant(s)" was used 4,393 times (average of 4.26 times per article) compared to 9,867 (average of 2.58 times per article) times afterwards. The word "refugee(s)" had been used 1,409 times (average of 1.37 times per article) before the publication of the picture and 12,376 times (average of 3.23 times per article) afterwards. Thus, at a macro level, it is apparent that a pronounced shift in the use of available frames happened after the publication of the image.

The shift in frame use is also vividly illustrated when we assess each individual newspaper's coverage of the crisis with "migrant(s)" used more often than "refugee(s)" in all ten of the UK's major newspapers before the image was published. After publication this trend reversed, with all newspapers initially using "refugee" more often than "migrant", something

that was sustained in four of the ten newspapers over the entire study period (*Daily Mirror, The Independent, The Guardian,* and *Financial Times*). We also found that the use of the word "refugee(s)" increased, and the use of "migrant(s)" decreased, after the release of the image compared to before, in *every* newspaper. Our findings are supported by a report by Vis and Goriunova (2015) that revealed that following the release of the image, Google searches for the term "refugee" significantly increased compared to that of "migrant". In a similar way, a shift in dominant vocabulary on social media – from "migrant" to "refugee"– occurred in the two months immediately after Alan Kurdi's death (D'Orazio, 2015). Our results become even more revelatory when we collate the ways in which newspapers from different ideological positions emphasized the frames. Figure 3 shows the average use, in our sample of articles, of the words "migrant(s)" and "refugee(s)" each month in politically right-leaning newspapers; figure 4 reveals this average use of terms in the newspapers positioned to the political left.

Please insert Figures 3 & 4 about here

Several important findings stand out. First, it can be seen in coverage prior to the publication of the Kurdi photograph that both sets of newspapers favored the word "migrant(s)" and used it at similar levels. Second, while the use of "migrant(s)" as a descriptor was dominant in the left-leaning newspapers, they used "refugee(s)" more often than those on the right. Third, upon publication of the photograph, the word "refugee(s)" became immediately dominant, irrespective of ideology. The photograph clearly cut through the ideological leanings of newspapers to indicate a marked shift in framing of the crisis. However, our fourth finding is that the increase was markedly more extreme among the left-leaning newspapers than those to the right. Fifth, we see that after the initial shift to favoring "refugee(s)", the right-oriented newspapers rapidly returned to preferencing the use of "migrant(s)", but in a way less polarized with "migrant(s)" used less and "refugee(s)" more than before the publication of the photograph. Finally, among the left-oriented newspapers, we see the use of "refugee(s)" retain

an almost entirely unbroken dominant position over the course of the year while the use of "migrant(s)" as a descriptor never reached the levels prior to publication of the photograph.

Also apparent from our data is that there was no incident that had a similar impact to the Kurdi photograph over the study period. Thus, although there had been thousands of pictures of the crisis, including dead children, published before and after the death of Alan Kurdi during the period of our study, none of them had the same impact.

Changing Emotional Arrays

Critical to this changing frame emphasis was a shift in the emotional characteristics of each frame. Our qualitative analysis of the newspaper data revealed that emotions formed a major component of both frames. These findings were supported by our interview data. Each frame was notable for having three characteristics: a set of emotions; a level of intensity at which each individual emotion was expressed; and, a distinctive corresponding language. These three constituents coalesced to form what we term an *emotional array*. Particularly revealing is the way in which the emotional arrays changed as a consequence of the publication of the Kurdi photograph. We depict this first with figures 5 and 6, showing the percentage of articles in which individual emotions were expressed and their associated levels of intensity each month, and second with the changes in the use of language (see tables 1 and 2 for exemplary data).

Migrant frame. Prior to publication of the Kurdi photograph, migrants were predominantly framed as a homogeneous group journeying with the ultimate goal of illegally entering the UK and thus constituting a threat to the socio-economic well-being of UK citizens. The prevalent emotions that emerged were anger, fear and disgust. These emotions were not mutually exclusive, with anger and fear in particular often appearing in the same text passage. The levels at which these emotions were expressed were often extreme with the language used regularly dehumanizing and generally avoiding the identification of individuals.

Please insert Figure 5 and Table 1 about here

The dominant emotion in the migrant frame was anger. This was directed at those who were positioned as causing disruption to the UK and a threat to lives and livelihoods, as here.

> [Member of Parliament Liz] Kendall used the toughest language by highlighting the "anger and concern" people were feeling. "They are angry about people trying to get into this country illegally, scrambling on to lorries in Calais" (*The Guardian*, June 18th, 2015).

Fear was also heavily constituted in the migrant frame. Articles regularly featured stories that suggested migrants were intimidating and posed an imminent danger.

> Migrants are "threatening" staff at the Channel Tunnel near [the French port of] Calais as they attempt to break into Britain on a nightly basis, David Cameron has warned amid claims that one asylum seeker turned a gun on an MEP (*The Daily Telegraph*, August 11th, 2015).

The emotion of disgust was directed at migrants in two ways. First, and most directly, it concerned behaviors that had been engaged in that were deemed unacceptable when compared to UK norms. Second, migrants were presented as the 'other', a homogenous group very different to the civilized citizens of the UK and Europe.

> More of Britain's overseas aid budget should be used to discourage mass migration from Africa so that the UK does not have to "fish" refugees out of the Mediterranean, Michael Fallon, the defence secretary, has suggested (*The Guardian*, June 21st, 2015).

Further, heavy use was made of dehumanizing language:

> The Prime Minister, who is on a visit to Vietnam, faced controversy when he said the problem had become worse in recent months because "you have got a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain" (*The Daily Telegraph*, July 31st, 2015).

> The foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, has weighed in to the debate over migration with some of the government's strongest language yet, claiming millions of marauding African migrants pose a threat to the EU's standard of living and social structure (*The Guardian*, August 11th, 2015a).

The opening quote to the paper further illustrates the dominant themes and language used. Sean, a senior editor at a 'quality' newspaper, supported the findings from our newspaper analysis, suggesting that "really significant dehumanizing language … was occurring in various media outlets" and that "what seems to be driving the narrative is this kind of, in some parts of the media, this public representation of [traveling people] as animals".

After the Kurdi photograph was published, a notable shift in the emotional array of the migrant frame took place with changes to the set of emotions constitutive of the frame, the level of intensity at which these were expressed, and the language used. Most notably perhaps, we did not uncover any expressions of disgust during the entire year. Furthermore, the levels of intensity at which both anger and fear were expressed significantly reduced, as we show in figure 5; dehumanizing language was also notably absent. As the piece below demonstrates, while anger was still present, articles lacked the highly emotive rhetoric previously apparent.

> John Batt, a retired panel beater, said: "It's just falling to pieces. The refugees are just walking around. This lot lay about all day long. All they do is sit about on the walls all day long, and they get fed, they get housed" (*The Daily Telegraph*, October 16th, 2015a).

Further, there was more emphasis on factual reporting rather than the use of emotive comments.

> The Home Office disclosed that over the past three years more than 7,000 people have made their way into Britain through ferry ports. Just over half of them were caught at the ports, while the remainder were found elsewhere in the UK (*The Daily Telegraph*, May 3rd, 2016).

The change in language was also picked up in parts of the media.

> A backlash against dehumanising refugees has begun - we must seize the moment. One week it's skivers, the next migrants. Now the death of Aylan Kurdi has helped to expose the rhetoric, and we have a chance to change the lives of those suffering in our midst (*The Guardian*, September 8th, 2015).

Importantly, the image had led to editorial discussions about the language to be used. John, a senior journalist, told us: "We have a morning conference every day and … we had quite a few discussions about exactly what language we should be using and how we should be using it."

Refugee frame. With the refugee frame, people journeying to the UK were described as being forced to flee their countries for their own well-being. Further, new arrivals were portrayed as beneficial for the UK economy and its social infrastructure rather than posing a threat. Our analysis revealed four constituent emotions: compassion, solidarity, shame and anger. The levels at which these emotions were expressed were low prior to Alan Kurdi's death with the language used focused on the portrayal of people as human beings with a family, a background and stories to share.

Please insert Figure 6 and Table 2 about here

The most widely expressed emotion in the refugee frame was compassion:

> "We are witnessing the worst refugee crisis of our era, with millions of women, men and children struggling to survive amidst brutal wars, networks of people traffickers and governments who pursue selfish political interests instead of … compassion," said Salil Shetty, Amnesty International 's secretary general (*The Guardian*, June 15th, 2015).

The second most prevalent emotion was solidarity. Similar to expressions of compassion, most passages containing solidarity were more general expressions of a need to align with refugees.

> Andy Burnham, the Labour leadership candidate, called [Cameron's] remarks [in which he referred to migrants as 'a swarm of people'] "disgraceful", while Tim Farron, the new leader of the Liberal Democrats, said Mr Cameron risked "dehumanising some of the world's most desperate people". "We are talking about human beings here, not insects", he said (*The Daily Telegraph*, July 31st, 2015).

Anger was generally directed at institutions, such as the UK or European governments for inaction, making poor decisions, and/or making inappropriate or inaccurate statements:

> Does it not occur to the British cabinet that people do not leave their homes and undertake perilous journeys that often take much more than a year, simply to seek a better standard of living? (*The Guardian*, August 28th, 2015).

Finally, shame was closely aligned with anger in our analysis, but this occurred only sporadically before the Kurdi image: "The government's impractical and frankly shameful response to Calais is unacceptable" (*The Guardian*, August 11th, 2015).

The language used in the refugee frame often focused on attempting to humanize the debate. News reporting therefore often described individuals who had journeyed to Europe, the challenges they faced on their travels, and their fears. Peter, a reporter on a national quality paper, often portrayed people he met on their journeys in his articles:

> [I was driven by a] desire to create empathy between the reader and the protagonist of particular articles. … it would range from … trying to be sure to say what job someone had, and something about their life back home that would show this person [as] a human being with a hinterland.

This language directly opposed, often explicitly, the dehumanizing language that was prevalent in the migrant frame before the Kurdi image.

As with the migrant frame, the emotional array of the refugee frame changed after publication of the image. While all four constituent emotions of the refugee frame remained, the levels of intensity at which these emotions were expressed became much more extreme. Expressions of compassion particularly increased in intensity immediately following the publication of the Kurdi photograph. Indeed, we coded only two passages as 'Compassion3', both in the same article, prior to publication of the photograph compared to 46 afterwards. This passage illustrates this emotion.

> Britain to take more refugees; Thousands more Syrians welcomed in 'moral' response; PM was 'moved as a father' by images of lifeless boy on beach. … In a marked shift in tone, the Government is preparing plans to resettle the refugees fleeing Isil jihadists in the region in an attempt to fulfil its "moral obligation" (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 4th, 2015).

The emotion of shame was also much more evident and pronounced. For example, all passages coded as 'Shame3' occurred after the photograph with quotes like this one, in a letter to *The Guardian*, tapping into a common theme.

> That boy was someone's son, someone's grandson - he was one of us. To state that we should all be ashamed to bear witness is an understatement ... Today, I am ashamed to be British (*The Guardian*, September 3rd, 2015).

In sum, the most extreme levels of solidarity and shame were only expressed after the Kurdi image was published and while there were some expressions of extreme compassion and anger beforehand, these were much more frequent afterwards.

A further notable shift was the use of language attempting to humanize the debate as reporter Peter explained:

> I think it felt like … this involves like many more human beings than we thought, who are not just faceless people, not just dots in a photo in the distance, but those dots are faces, and those faces have human beings sitting behind them.

Robert, a senior international editor, confirmed our findings, suggesting: "So this picture in my mind humanized the story and changed the conversation about the immigrant crisis." Ian, editor at a quality newspaper, agreed:

> This [picture] humanized the thing, the shock factor. … a lot of editors took the decision that this has got to be told, people have got to be informed that this is happening. We need to let them know about the cruelty and the barbaric nature of what's going on in another part of the world we don't really know much about, and it's driving people to get their kids into little boats and try and get a new life in Europe because their own life is so untenable and hellish in their homeland. I think that is what a lot of editors used to justify it, probably quite rightly. And it did, it changed the narrative of the whole subject.

While our findings indicate that the language used before the image was published emphasized a personal account of people, this became much more pronounced afterwards.

Drivers of Framing Change

Having laid out the shifts in frame prominence and emotional arrays, we now turn to an analysis of what drove these changes. We first assess the photograph of Alan Kurdi and detail the emotional and instrumental impact that it had inside newspaper organizations. We then show the changes in behaviors that emerged across companies and examine the factors that influenced the duration of the effect of the image across organizations.

***The iconic photograph*.** In analyzing the photograph, we see Alan at the center of an apparently peaceful scene. His clothing and the lack of geographic markers make him universally representative rather than nationally coded: he could be anywhere and anyone. The bare facts of the photograph are apparent when looking at the spectrum, the little boy, more closely. On the one hand, the studium parts are clearly visible: his bare legs, his wet clothes, his closed eyes. The representative punctum, on the other hand, hits us after the conscious reflection and realization that this boy is not sleeping but dead. Our emotional involvement is heightened. A little boy is lying alone on a beach. No parents or guardians are there to protect him. He is lying in a place that would usually be associated with happy moments: children playing on a beach, having fun in the water, enjoying themselves. But this is not the case here. Here is a child that has been neglected, left alone, dead.

Emotionally-charged questions come to mind: Why is the boy alone? What happened to him? Why is there nobody to protect him? The compassion and empathy that are triggered are

very powerful. Upon reflection, there is also anger at how this has been allowed to happen, even shame at our own inaction. Alan can be seen to represent the innocence of all children and their vulnerability in the migration crisis. It was not his decision to leave his country, or get on a boat, or fall into the sea. He cannot be positioned as part of a "swarm" trying to illegally enter the UK; rather, we are drawn to him, with a protective urge. The photograph therefore has an ascribed set of powerful emotions embedded within it, capable of triggering an emotional response among those who viewed it.

Emotional impact of the photograph. Our data consistently point to the powerful emotional impact the image had, both on those within newspaper organizations and outside. Prime Minister David Cameron, whose son Ivan had died just before his seventh birthday, stated that "as a father" he was "deeply moved" by the image (*The Guardian*, September 4th, 2015b). The photograph also influenced those previously unaffected:

> The pictures of Aylan … hit a raw nerve, as they did for thousands of other British parents. … The photo of his limp body pierced the jaded apathy I had previously felt seeing images of migrants storming Calais, or refugees flooding Greek islands. For the first time, I gave thought to the individuals behind the headlines (*The Daily Telegraph*, October 3rd, 2015).

All of the editors and journalists that we spoke to reported that they were similarly affected. Laura recalled the emotions in the newsroom on the day the picture came in:

> The picture was shown in our midday news conference … the room fell very silent. … Everybody who saw that picture, in the first instance they were very shocked, really moved. And there is something about a photograph that really stops you in your tracks.

John, an editor at a quality newspaper, told us that "people [in the newsroom] cried and were very upset by it". Ian explained the impact the image had in terms of triggering emotions:

> I think there was more empathy, more sympathy for people. ... there was a shift … saying, 'Listen people, these aren't just illegal immigrants that are trying to come here to get social security and a nice steady life. These are people who are fleeing horrendous regimes, wars, famines, refugee problems, crisis, horrible camps, trying to get a better life for their kids.' I think there was an element that that picture changed or helped change attitudes.

Editors and journalists also offered explanations as to why the image had such a profound emotional impact. Kyle, a reporter, felt that it was significant that Alan looked like "one of us" (see El-Enany, 2016, for an analysis of the potential impact of Alan's light skin color):

> Well first and foremost he's got Western clothes on. … he doesn't look like he was somebody who was from [afar]. … When you're looking at that from a Western point of view you say, 'Oh gosh! He just looks like one of our type of kids'.

Adam, editor at a quality newspaper, made a connection to his own children, "I think those of us who had children did feel very strongly that this, it looked like any one of our children fast asleep … and that was a fairly haunting thing to think about." Laura, a picture editor, opined:

> I think the picture was very stark. I think the solitude of the child's body on the beach, it was something that really touched everybody's sense of humanity that this shouldn't be happening, and that people were taking such extraordinary risks, not just with their own lives as adults but with the lives of their children.

Brad, an editor at a right-leaning quality newspaper, suggested that the image even outweighed political positions that are usually constitutive of framing in the media:

> The fact that you've got a photograph of a young boy cuts through any political debate and therefore that's probably why you found it used on every front page. … it's just a very, very moving story and everyone's heart would go out to that boy and his family and indeed to all the other people stuck in that trap. Politics doesn't come into it.

These data point to the powerful emotional impact the photograph had across media organizations. Not only did it prompt publication of the identifiable face of a dead child, something we were consistently informed is almost unheard of among newspaper companies, but, as we will show, it also energized some of those within newspaper organizations to act.

Instrumental impact of the photograph. In addition to the emotional impact of the photograph, those we interviewed also attested to the fact that they perceived that the expectations of their readership had been altered by the image. Adam, an editor at a quality newspaper, explained:

> I think the truth is that there was certainly a shift in [our readers'] mood across the board and I think there was a recognition that actually lives were being lost and the British government, along with other European governments, did have a responsibility to act.

Paul Johnson, Deputy Editor at *The Guardian*, expressed similar comments in an editorial:

> The enormous poignancy and potential power of the photographs was evident from the start. Could they be the images that provided a tipping point? Would public sympathy, and perhaps anger at Britain's role as an apparent bystander in this saga, be moved by them? We decided that both of these were highly likely (*The Guardian*, September 7th, 2015).

Philip, editor at a tabloid newspaper, also pointed to the need to align with the readership: "Sometimes one image can just move things high up the news agenda, and really resonate with readers in an easy to understand way, and an emotional way." Ian supported this view, suggesting: "People … from that moment on started phoning around European leaders and saying, 'We'd better do something here.' Because the public backlash to that picture was very significant, and it did change minds and attitudes."

This perceived change in readership expectations was what, according to many, triggered a rapid shift in the reporting on the crisis, including those newspapers that had previously displayed a hard-line stance against immigration:

> There will also be some anger in [government] at the speed with which newspapers - for decades demanding more action to create a hostile environment to migrants - can overnight conduct a total U-turn and demand the government show greater charity to refugees. But no one in politics should expect the press to display consistency, or logic. It is their prerogative, and almost democratic duty, to capture the contradictory public mood (*The Guardian*, September 3rd, 2015).

> The turnaround in the British tabloid press has been astonishing. The 'Murdoch' Sun, which just months ago published a column describing the refugees as "cockroaches" by a woman boasting that her heart could not be touched by drowning children, now puts "For Aylan" on its front page and demands that the government provide places for 3,000 orphans (*The Guardian*, September 4th, 2015).

The need to meet reader expectations among those working for organizations that had previously favoured the migrant frame was similarly highlighted by Peter, a reporter:

> I think even [right-wing newspaper] *The Mail* also had some kind of campaign or pseudo campaign about letting in more refugees under the resettlement programme. Who knows the reasons for that, maybe the journalists or the editors there felt much more sympathetic about the subject themselves, maybe they felt this was good business, you know, the readers wanted to see more sympathetic coverage.

The instrumental impact, aligned with the emotional effect of the photograph described earlier, resulted in changing behaviors within newspaper organizations.

Changing behaviors. As the emotional and instrumental impacts of the image on unfolded, we observed several changes in behaviour inside newspaper organizations. Most notably, more resources and space were devoted to reporting on the crisis, and several newspapers engaged in activities that appeared to be directed at initiating societal change.

The increase in resources directly impacted reporting, as editors at two quality newspapers explained:

> We put more people on the ground to cover it and part of that was trying to tell [Alan's] story and tell the story of some of those other people at the same time around him, and that kind of thing, so there was immediate resource thrown into that for sure (John).

> All news organizations would have had more reporters covering this than they might have done otherwise. You react to events. So every time there is a big story you have to, as a serious news organization, you want to ensure your coverage is the best (Brad).

The use of more on-the-ground and local freelance journalists impacted how the crisis was framed by providing more insight into the local context and personal stories of those traveling. To accompany this, more space in newspapers was devoted to the crisis. Ian explained:

> Newspapers and TV companies especially were sending out more and more reporters and film crews to cover that and bring home the reality of what brought that baby to that beach in [Turkey] by showing what was going on in their homelands.

Another notable change was that several newspaper organizations set up petitions and campaigns in the direct aftermath of the image. These were strategically orchestrated to either align with perceived readership expectations or reflect the moral outrage within the organization and attempt to initiate societal change. Adam explained what happened at his newspaper:

> The other thing that we did on that day [of publication] was to set up a petition calling on the government to take a fair share of refugees. … So, I think it became for us basically a campaigning issue, which it probably hadn't been prior to the decision to publish that image.

In a similar vein, Sean, an editor, told us that the photograph reinforced the moral position held within the newspaper about supporting refugees and motivated people to act. He also explained

that being one of the first newspapers to publish the photograph and setting up a campaign for change gave his newspaper legitimacy with the story:

> [Publication of the photograph] gave us a degree of authority over that story. … The way we tackled it, the way we launched a campaign on that evening, and got that up and running, gave us an authority. It opened doors with a number of other people, you know, MPs, experts who felt equally passionate about that crisis. And it allowed us to cover that issue in a lot more depth, and we did stuff off the back of it. ... And I'm just not sure that would necessarily have happened with that story without Alan Kurdi.

Such initiatives were widely covered in the news, likely giving them further traction:

> A parliamentary petition calling on Cameron to accept more asylum seekers had attracted more than 191,000 signatures on Thursday afternoon, after an image of the body of a small boy drowned and washed up on a Turkish beach appeared in the press and on social media. A separate change.org petition calling on the home secretary, Theresa May, to give "immediate sanctuary to refugees fleeing war and violence" had topped 184,000 signatures by Thursday (*The Guardian*, September 4th, 2015).

Another activity that media organizations engaged in to initiate change was directly calling on their readers to use the momentum of the image to put pressure on the government:

> In this moment when the humanity of refugees is finally being recognised across Europe, we should feel exercised to argue and protest against an immigration system that feels justified in treating people like rubbish (*The Guardian*, September 8th, 2015).

Our data indicate that left-leaning newspapers tended to engage more in activities to initiate change, compared to right-leaning newspapers. While our data do not allow us to derive ultimate conclusions on this point, they point to more symbolic changes in behavior by right-leaning organizations. This is something that becomes more apparent when analyzing the two factors that significantly influenced the duration of the change, ideology and emotional fatigue.

Duration of impact. As we show in figures 3 and 4, the ideology of the newspapers played an important role in the duration of the photograph's impact. John explained that, for some newspapers, the shift in framing was relatively short-lived:

> A lot of … papers had been producing very unsympathetic coverage of the migrant crisis at that juncture. Alan Kurdi happened and there was suddenly, 'How is this allowed to happen? Shock and horror.' But then within a week or two we're back to, 'the hordes arriving on our shores' kind of thing.

In line with John's statement, we found that those newspapers that had been sympathetic towards refugees before the image used the momentum the image created to get their own voices heard, to initiate change and to reframe the debate. Others, which had been less sympathetic towards the plight of those traveling, engaged in a more symbolic and temporary reframing with some disagreeing with the decision to publish the image, as Adam told us:

> I think there were certainly some people who felt that it was almost a case of emotional blackmail. I remember having one conversation with somebody at a different newspaper who said, 'I just don't think you should have published the image you did' because, he said, 'I think it is actually, it's too emotive and you're creating a sense that people should respond in a particular way when actually this is one particular tragic example.'

Political orientation and general position on the migration crisis, therefore, had a huge influence on reporting. Tabloid editor Philip explained:

> Everyone has a good idea of the DNA and characteristics of each [media] platform. …We all know from top to bottom … what [this newspaper] stands for, and what the policies that we agree with or disagree with [are], and we know who we're supporting in the election and all. So [a story] goes through lots of filters, everyone will know. By the time it appears in the paper it will have gone through those filters.

This view was shared by David, who has worked as a journalist on various newspapers for over 50 years: "The tone of the paper is always set by the editor. But the editor's tone is set by the paper. It's almost chicken and egg." This view was confirmed by Ian, who suggested: "Editors will ask for stuff to be written to an agenda, there's no question about that."

We did find evidence of dissonance between a reporter's position and that of the newspaper, as Nat, a journalist who disagreed with the editorial stance of his newspaper, explained:

> So, I told the story as I saw it. You know, personally I had great sympathy for refugees coming from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and I was never given any sort of an editorial line from London. … I mean I just don't read the editorials anymore because I can't bear it.

This, however, was unusual. Steve, a well-travelled reporter and editor, told us that the editorial line was set by the owner and the editor. The editor would then create an environment and expectation of what position the newspaper would take on particular issues. Our data show that, while the editorial stance of the newspaper might alter and thus lead to a change in

framing, the duration of such a change was heavily influenced by the ideological position of the newspaper.

Our findings also revealed that emotional fatigue influenced the duration of the impact of the image inside some newspaper organizations. Peter explained:

> The analysis I've come to really is that it's quite hard to feel empathy for a sustained period of time. It's really tiring. … So you start to switch off, particularly if you don't understand how you can help … Readers get emotionally tired, and they can get empathy overload … and editors will respond accordingly and direct resources to elsewhere and start to return to more negative lines of reporting.

Nat provided support for this line of thought, suggesting:

> Children are still drowning every single week now, coming across from the Turkish coast to places like Lesbos, Samos, Kos, Chios. It's just that, I don't know, whether, you know, people have run out of empathy or sympathy for it.

Ian suggested: "I think people still have a residual sympathy, but there's been so many cases where there have been, significant numbers of lives have been lost in the last few years, but inevitably the familiarity breeds contempt with these kind of things." Thus, emotional fatigue not only effected readers, but also those involved in the reporting, as Peter explained:

> Editors themselves or reporters themselves maybe get tired of emoting and trying to produce more nuanced or more positive coverage or more empathetic coverage. … And it's exhausting writing about things that you don't feel are really changing the narrative. Like, I set out at the beginning with this intention of humanising the situation and trying to find ways of telling the story that might strike a chord with people. But eventually feeling like this wasn't really working.

What is important to highlight in this context is the connection between emotional fatigue, ideological commitment to the story, and being "on the ground" where the crisis is unfurling. Those reporting from a distance, and in a newspaper that did not stay with the story over an extended period, did not experience emotional fatigue in the same way, if at all.

DISCUSSION

Our data allow us to develop theory about two important aspects of framing change. First, we show how even long-standing macro-level frames are much more malleable than previously thought with the potential of disruptive events, in our case the photograph of Alan Kurdi, to

bring about rapid changes in frame composition and emphasis. Central to this is a frame's emotional array. Second, we lay out the distinct mechanisms through which framing change takes place in media organizations characterized by different ideologies. In sum, we contribute to our inchoate understanding of framing as an inherently dynamic process.

Framing Change and Emotional Arrays

In line with Polletta's (2019) call to consider cultural understandings as a sense of becoming rather than solely being, we theorize that the composition of macro-level frames is always subject to change. We extend current thinking by contending that frames are much more plastic and malleable than previously assumed. Our study thus supports work that has adopted a more dynamic approach to understanding framing (Ansari et al., 2013; Litrico & David, 2017; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). Central to our theorizing is that frames are continually subject to revision as new material becomes available and is used in a framing bricolage informed by the ideological position of the framing agent. Thus, framing is a dynamic process with the integration of new material potentially causing rapid change to the emphasis and presentation of available frames over time.

Emotional arrays play a key role in this revised conceptualization. As we noted earlier, an emotional array is constituted of three things: a set of emotions, the level of intensity of these emotions, and a distinctive associated language. Collectively, these provide meaning and legitimacy for a frame, create a connection with an audience, and shape appropriate behaviors. Given their contextual specificity, each frame's emotional array will almost certainly be unique: it is also subject to being changed by, as in our case, an iconic photograph that can supercharge the emotional array of an emotionally aligned frame and degrade the array of a competing frame. This is apparent in the altering of intensity of emotions and use of language. Thus, rather than being static, the dynamic nature of the emotional array is reflected in how

pieces can be added and removed, emphasized and deemphasized, altering the frame's composition.

In our case, we saw a shift in the emotional arrays of both frames. In the migrant frame, 'disgust' disappeared completely, 'anger' and 'fear' were significantly degraded, and the use of dehumanizing language was almost eradicated. The emotional array of the refugee frame, on the other hand, became amplified with all of the emotions constitutive of the frame gaining in intensity. Further, the shift in emotional intensity was accompanied by a change in language as emphasis was placed on specific events, people and organizations. In this we offer support for work that has suggested that emotions can be a source of motivation for social change (Collins, 2004; Weber et al., 2008; Zietsma et al., 2019) and extend it by unveiling how this can happen.

Frames have been classically theorized as devices that can render events meaningful and thus organize experience and action (Benford & Snow, 2000). Images are similarly regarded as "repositories of meaning" (Grady, 1996: 10) able to shape cultural understanding by transmitting information in an apparently undoctored way with a "fact-like character" (Höllerer et al., 2013; see also Burri, 2012). We show that photographs also have latent emotional cues embedded within them that are available for interpretation. Here we build on Helmers' (2010: 197) observation that engagement with a photograph is a transaction between the viewer and the photograph such that "the image constitutes the spectator as an active creator of meaning." In our case, the Kurdi photograph evoked compassion, solidarity, anger and shame. More generally, we theorize that individual emotions carried by a photograph will vary in intensity depending upon the content of the photograph and the perceived temporal, geographic and emotional proximity of the framing agent.

While the effect of a photograph on framing change will atrophy over time, this is more complex than previously thought. The framing of an issue is influenced by the ideology of a

newspaper, although it will also be subject to competing personal and organizational pressures exerted on media owners, editors and journalists (Briggs & Burke, 2009; McLeod & Hertog, 1992; Roulet & Clement, 2018). This is no less true with media-generated images than it is with other forms of text (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes & Sasson, 1992). Thus, a photograph will likely have a significantly more pronounced impact over a longer time if a framing agent has been emotionally impacted and is in an organization with an ideology that is receptive to it.

An important facet of our theorizing is that emotions are socially experienced by people coalescing around a common symbolic event or artifact. Collins (2004) suggested that symbols that represent a group draw people together through a common emotional attachment. Iconic photographs are a special case of this in that they can create and mobilize a group around what it considers to be (un)acceptable and thus initiate change in the emotional array of frames. Our case demonstrates how a "violation of expectation" (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; see also Barthes, 1981) – such as a photograph of a small boy washed up on a beach – can trigger an emotive response. As with the photograph of Phan Thi Kim Phúc in the Vietnam War, the violation of expected social norms is marked: "It is a picture that shouldn't be shown of an event that shouldn't have happened" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003: 41). However, photographs in and of themselves are not inherently disruptive—(re)framing requires the appropriation and articulation of images.

There are two further considerations here with regards to a photograph or conceivably other forms of disruptive text or event. First, as we noted earlier, it may generate a sufficiently intense emotional impact to bring about a change in emphasis that may then lead to a revised use of frames by a media outlet. Second, it may cause a shift in what is considered appropriate in a given context and thus trigger a change in the frame's emotional array. We theorize that such change in emotional arrays in the media requires a shared emotional experience. While emotions may be individually experienced, they are social because they reside in a system of

relationships (Jasper & Polletta, 2019; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). It is the shared emotional experience that is particularly important in not only filtering information but in potentially shifting legitimacy in the framing of an issue. This depends on the extent to which an audience identifies with a message (Creed et al., 2002; Gould, 2009; Massa et al., 2017; Summers-Effler, 2010). While such identification can be cognitive, we align with Collins (2004) in holding that an emotional association will elicit a stronger subject interaction. If an emotional impact is powerful enough, it can precipitate a shift in the emotional array of a frame that can be retained even beyond a shift in frame preference.

The duration of emotional impacts is unclear but it has long been thought that the emotional effects of a photograph will be short-lived (e.g., Ekman, 1999). Even other work that has examined the impact of the Kurdi photograph on, for example, donations to the Swedish Red Cross, suggests that "the response diminish[ed] rapidly as the image fades from memory" (Slovic et al., 2017: 16). Our work suggests that this is not necessarily the case. The photograph continued to have an effect one year after publication even among media firms that returned to favoring the migrant frame. Further, the emotional arrays of both frames remained significantly altered until the end of our study period. Thus, iconic photographs can have a more pronounced and longer lasting effect on the framing of contentious issues than previously assumed.

Mechanisms of Framing Change

We have demonstrated above that frames are much more plastic than has previously been revealed and that central to understanding the changing composition of a frame is its emotional array. We now extend these ideas to explain the mechanisms underlying framing change. As we show, the accepted position that ideology shapes outcomes must now come with an important caveat: there are some situations in which ideology will have little or no influence on how an issue is framed. Our findings show that an iconic photograph has the potential to supercharge the emotional array of a frame if the two are sufficiently emotionally aligned.

Simultaneously, the emotional arrays of other, even previously dominant, frames, can be degraded resulting in a precipitous decline in use. If sufficiently intense, these effects will occur irrespective of ideology. It is important to point out though that ideology still matters, influencing both the mechanisms by and the speed at which a shift in frame emphasis takes place, and the duration of the change. It is to a more detailed examination of these pathways that we now turn.

Receptive ideology. As we depict in figure 7, in a media organization that has a dominant ideology that is receptive to and aligned with the emotions of an iconic image, there is likely to be a powerful emotional response within the organization. There are two contributing factors to this. First, the image will infuse those within the organization with emotional energy (Collins, 2004). It appears that this will be particularly extreme among those who collectively engage with the photograph, such as at a morning news briefing or editorial conference. The reciprocal emotional interaction can play a key role in mobilizing the group (e.g., Gould, 2009; Summers-Effler, 2010). Second, there will also be an enhanced justification among those within the organization that their preferred framing of the issue is morally appropriate.

Please insert Figure 7 about here

This infusion of energy can lead to a supercharging of the emotional array of the frame aligned with the image and a corresponding change in framing emphasis. As the frame is subsequently reemphasized and represented, the clarity of the frame is developed through a continual refinement of the emotional array's components: the emotions expressed, the intensity of those emotions and the associated language. These, in turn, further enhance frame emphasis. By contrast, any competing ways of framing the contentious issue will be immediately deemphasized with accompanying changes to the frame's emotional arrays.

These shifts in frame emphasis and emotional arrays will generate changes in behavior. For example, new resources will likely be devoted to gathering information, greater space will be

accorded to stories about the (re)framed issue, and policy changes may be made in how to actively frame the issue through, for example, revisions in language use. Further, the enhanced legitimacy accruing from driving a reframing of the issue may allow the organization to build alliances with other influential actors and engage in campaigns for further associated action. These in turn will help further clarify the emotional array and how the frame can be used.

Those within the media organization may also be instrumental as they take advantage of the new framing of an issue to engage in strategies that will advance the organization and the issue with which it is engaged. For example, by promoting its revised framing of an issue, it may seek to appeal to potential readers who have been influenced by the photograph. Over time, however, the emotional impact is likely to gradually diminish as emotional fatigue sets in and other newsworthy issues emerge. This is likely to influence future frame emphasis and associated behaviors. A gradual decline in focus on the issue is likely to happen along with the reallocation of resources to emerging issues and the curtailing of associated campaigning.

Non-receptive ideology. In a similar way, iconic images with sufficiently powerful emotions suffused within them can initiate framing change of a contentious issue in a media organization that has a non-receptive ideology, as depicted in figure 8.

Please insert Figure 8 about here

The influences and processes at play, however, differ from those we described above in several critical ways. In this we build on Bitekine and Haack's (2015) observation that different organizations will develop norms that support their framing of events. While an image may also create an emotional impact on those within a media organization with a non-receptive ideology, it will almost inevitably lack sufficient emotional energy to shift the dominant perception of an issue. However, it will likely cause some reflection on it accompanied by a recognition that, with widespread publication of the photograph, non-publication is likely not possible. Further there may be a perception that readership expectations will have changed. As

a consequence, media organizations' editorial and other staff will quickly realise that their preferred framing – often designed to align with the organization's established interests (Entman, 2012; Groeling, 2013) – does not reflect the dominant view of the readership anymore or might even have been rendered morally untenable. This will lead to an instrumentally-driven change in framing emphasis, intended to meet the perceived expectations of the readership.

More specifically, as certain emotions and the ways they have been expressed appear to be no longer morally appropriate, the emotional array of the preferred frame may be refined in terms of the emotions expressed within it, the intensity of those emotions and the associated language. If the change in emotional array of the frame is sufficient to make the frame appear appropriate in light of changed readership expectations, the use of the frame will increase. As the frame is repeatedly emphasized and externally presented, so the emotional array will be further clarified in line with perceived readership expectations.

Similar to organizations with supportive ideologies, these shifts in frame emphasis and emotional arrays will also generate changes in behavior, but while they may be ostensibly similar to those in organizations with receptive ideologies, they will only be adopted temporarily. For example, while more resources will likely be immediately devoted to reporting on a contentious issue in greater depth, these will be quickly reallocated when focus shifts to another issue. Further, any additional strategies of action will also be curtailed when change is made back to emphasizing the frame aligned with the organization's ideology.

Overall, in contrast to the more gradual diminishing observed in media organizations with a receptive ideology, the framing change in organizations with a non-receptive ideology is characterized by rapid temporal diminishing. Clemente and Roulet (2015: 105) suggested that when opinion on a given issue "becomes hostile to a practice, the practice is likely to be abandoned." Our work provides an important caveat to this by showing when a position is likely to be only temporarily dropped rather than completely abandoned. Because instrumental

opportunism rather than the emotional impact of the image is dominant, a media organization with a non-receptive ideology will likely return to an ideologically sustainable position as soon as it deems it morally acceptable to its readership. However, while the preferred frame will again become dominant, it will likely also have been clarified for use in what has become a changed environment with potential changes to the emotional array likely being retained.

CONCLUSION

Our purpose in this paper has been to develop theory that advances our understanding of framing as an inherently dynamic process. Without this, not only do our theories of framing remain incomplete but our ability to understand how entrenched positions become established is significantly limited. The European migration crisis is one example that has become a humanitarian tragedy for those attempting to relocate from war-torn countries and a seemingly intractable problem for Europe's political leaders. As we have examined the framing of the crisis, we have been able to develop novel insights into the dynamic nature of framing processes that are pivotal to understanding our most pressing societal issues.

Our work has significant implications for practitioners, particularly those engaged in constructing and trying to influence policy development. First of all, actors need to be aware not just that iconic photographs can rapidly shift the framing of an issue but how the mechanisms that drive change vary across different organizations. The powerful emotional impact that prompts framing change in ideologically receptive organizations will likely have a longer lasting impact on framing than the more instrumental effects in non-receptive organizations. Further, the emotional array of a frame can remain changed even when framing priorities have shifted. This can affect the range of emotions that are expressed, the intensity of those emotions and the language used. These points have important strategic considerations for those seeking to realize change both in the timing of their activities and the ways in which they are positioned. It may be, for example, that first, the window of opportunity for action

may be longer than previously realized, and second, it may be possible to quickly reestablish a frame's prominence through a subsequent related event.

While we feel that our theoretical inferences further our understanding of framing as an inherently dynamic process, there are inevitable scope conditions that should be considered and that also point to opportunities for future research. There are three things to consider: the focal organizations, the medium of the photograph, and the extreme nature of the case. First, newspapers have traditionally been, and remain, powerful framing agents. However, it would be interesting to test our theorizing with other framing organizations, including social media, television companies, governments, non-governmental organizations, and so on. With social media platforms regarded as suspicious in terms of the reliability of their content, examining how they influence the framing of societal issues would be of particular interest.

Second, pushing beyond photographs to other forms of textual representation is also important. Still photographs, as we have discussed in this paper, have a resonance that other forms of media lack. However, as increasingly sophisticated forms of (re)presentation become available through technologies such as 5G and various forms of artificial intelligence, so ways of framing will also likely emerge to challenge our theorizing. It will also open up further opportunities for developing insights into multimodal aspects of framing change (see, for example, Höllerer et al., 2018; Meyer et al., 2013).

Third, while the case of Alan Kurdi is undoubtedly revelatory, it is also extreme, with the power to create an impact irrespective of the ideology of individuals or organizations. Testing the boundaries of different content, and the contexts in which it is created, would further add to our understanding of the dynamics of framing.

Our work also points to other opportunities for future work. In particular, while we show the existence of emotional arrays and the mechanisms that connect photographs with the dynamic effects of framing change, it would be useful to tease out variations across frames,

even going beyond the 484 days of our study. For example, we consider framing as a process of bricolage and frames as plastic. It would be interesting to test the boundaries of this flexibility over time and also examine the potential existence of hybrids that draw elements from different, even conflicting, frames. The ways in which variations in emotional array exact different social outcomes is also of interest. Further, the differing causes and durations of emotional fatigue and their impact on framing also constitute important areas of future study.

Finally, our revelatory qualitative analysis, aimed at theory building, has integrated insights from different theoretical and methodological approaches. This has enabled us to gain novel insights into framing processes, and in particular the role of emotions. As has been highlighted by others, capturing emotions remains a challenge in our field, in particular when trying to uncover the mutually constitutive interaction of individual representations with wider framing processes. While we hope that our approach may prove useful for future research in this area, studies could also draw on other methods, such as recent developments in topic modelling or sentiment analysis, to detect patterns in even larger data sets. As such work furthers our understanding of the dynamics of framing, so we will be better positioned to address the societal challenges that confront us.

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Figure 1. Alan Kurdi.

Photograph provided by, and used with permission of, DHA (Doğan Haber Ajansi – Dogan News Agency).

Figure 2. Proportion of coded articles published in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* supporting the migrant and refugee frames each month.

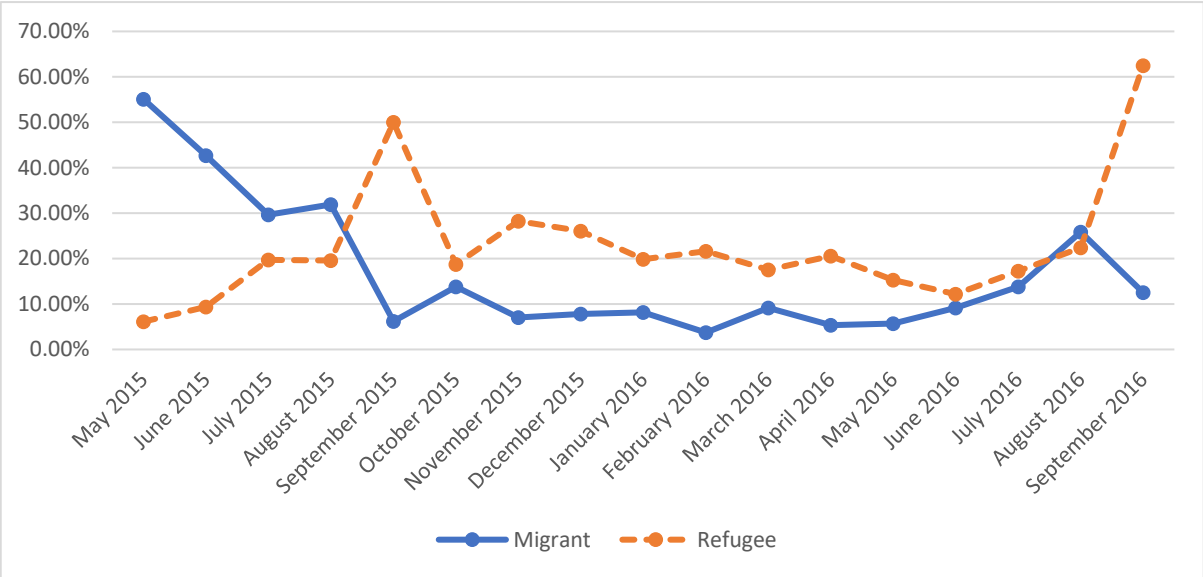


Figure 3. Average use per coded article of the terms "migrant(s)" and "refugee(s)" by newspapers to the ideological right each month.

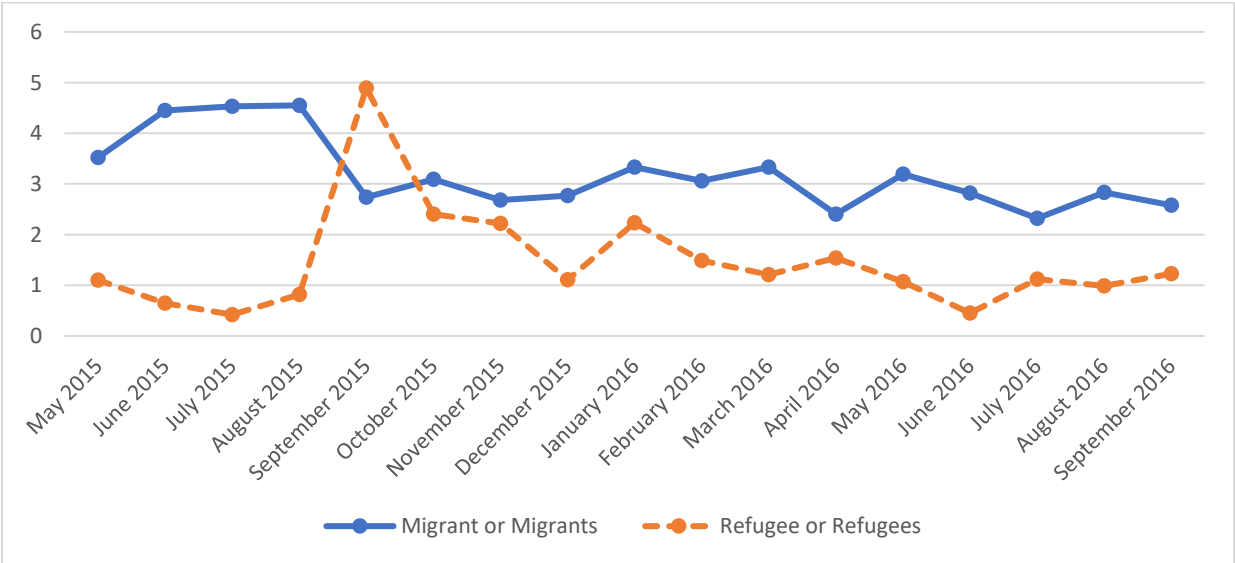


Figure 4. Average use per coded article of the terms “migrant(s)” and “refugee(s)” by newspapers to the ideological left each month.

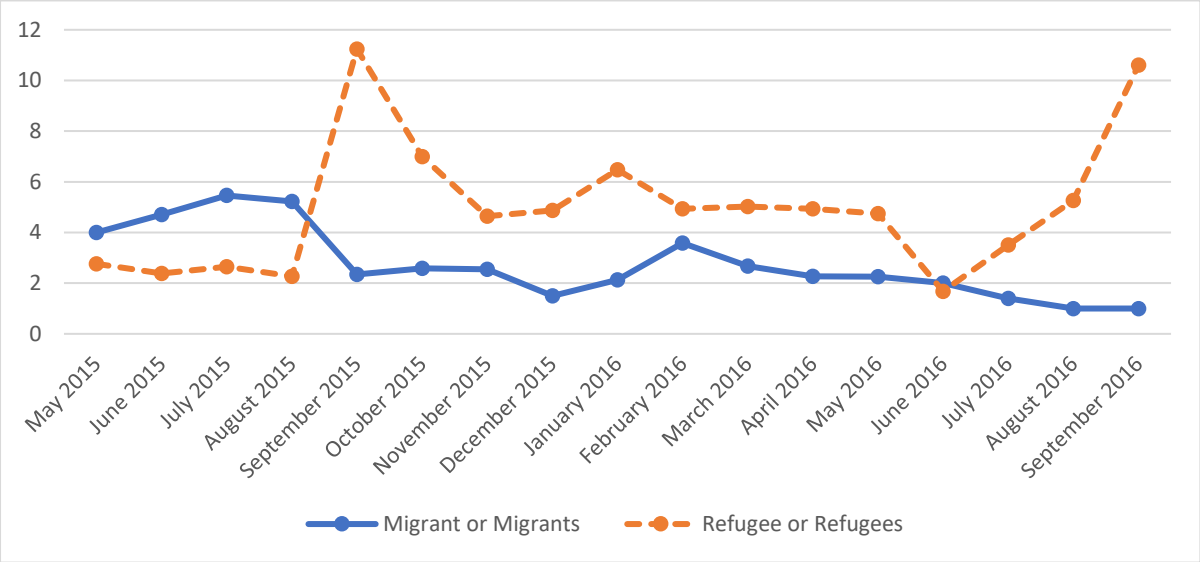
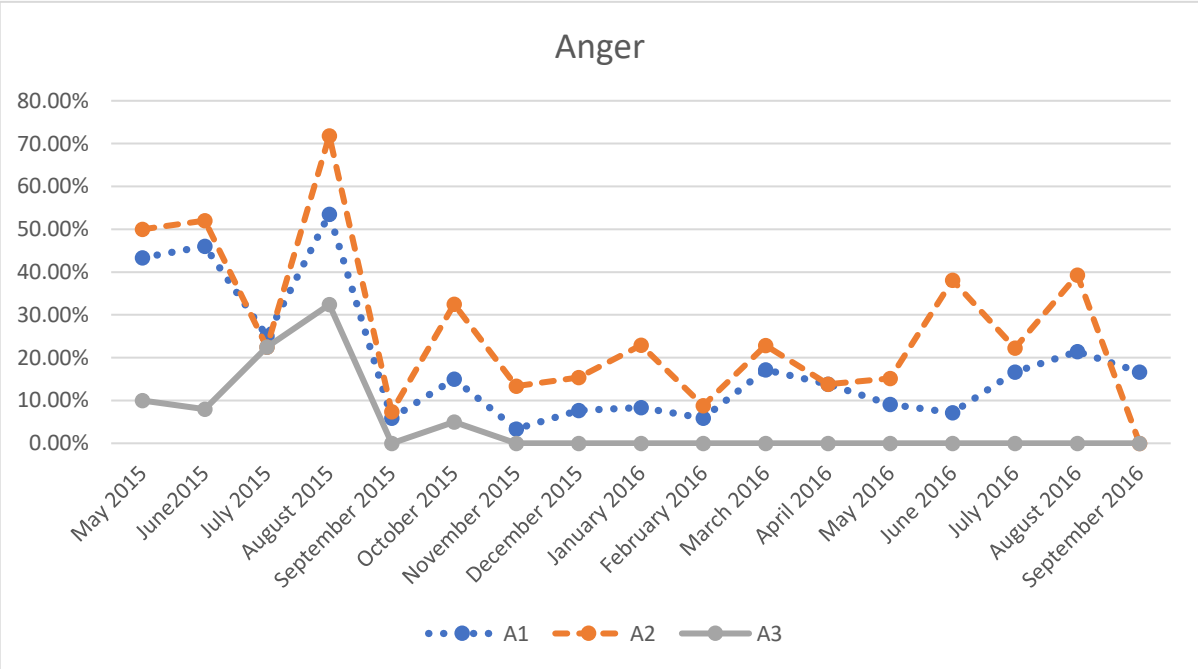
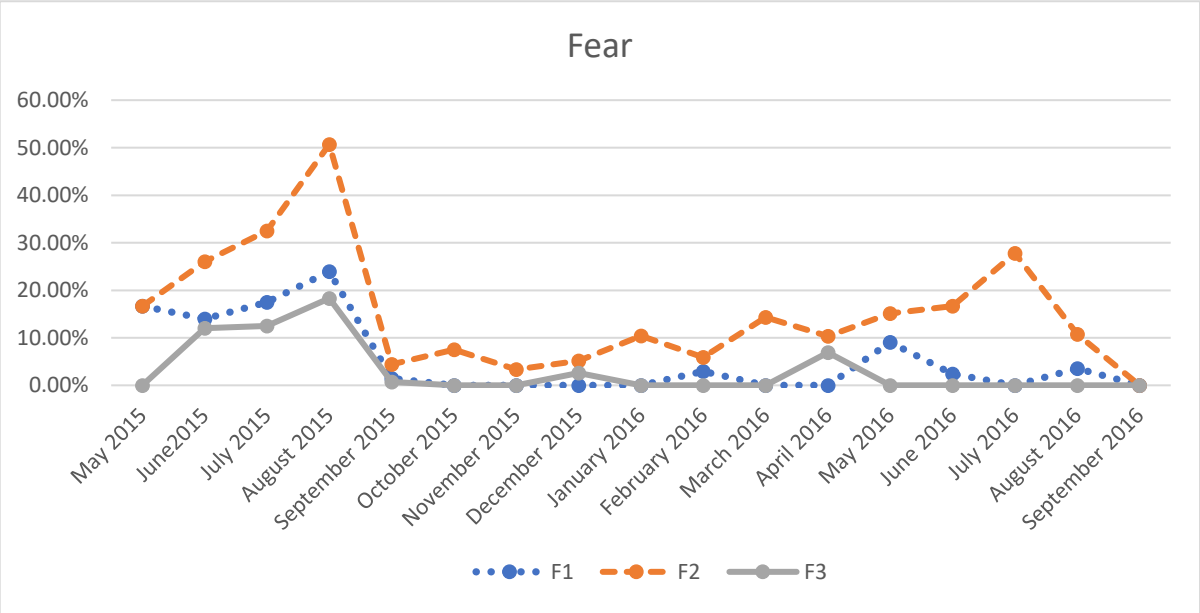


Figure 5. Proportion of articles in which different intensity levels of emotions constitutive of the migrant frame were present each month.




Fear
60.00%
50.00%
40.00%
30.00%
20.00%
10.00%
0.00%
May 2015
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July 2015
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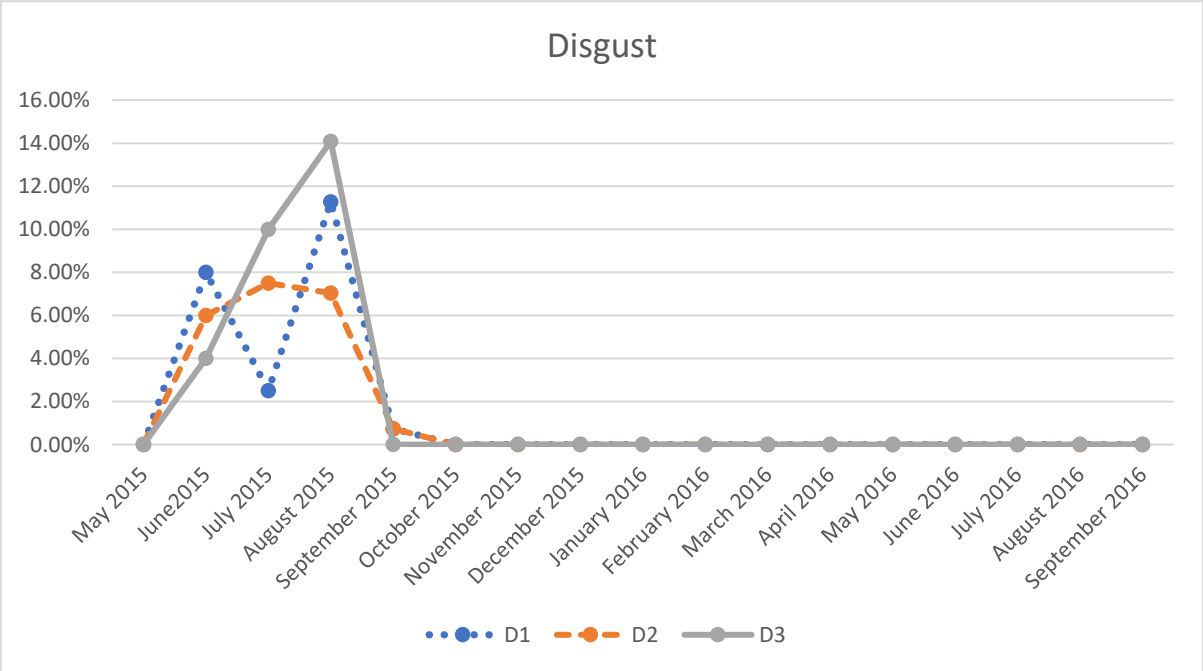
Disgust
16.00%
14.00%
12.00%
10.00%
8.00%
6.00%
4.00%
2.00%
0.00%
May 2015
June2015
July 2015
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D1
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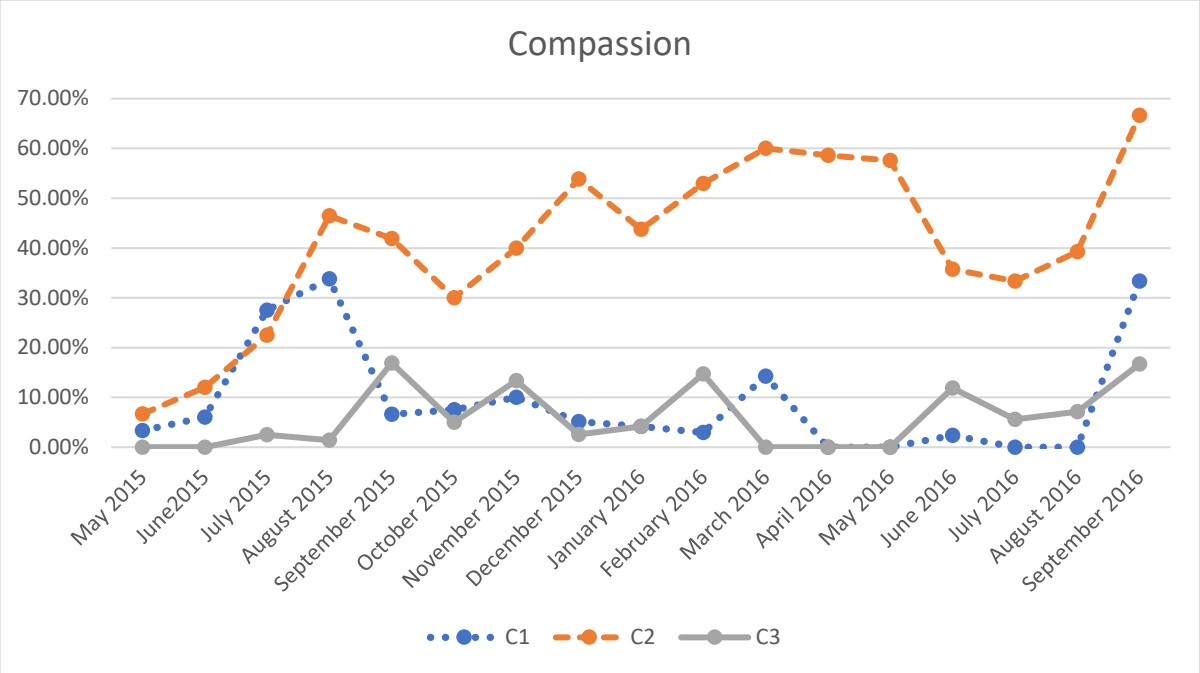
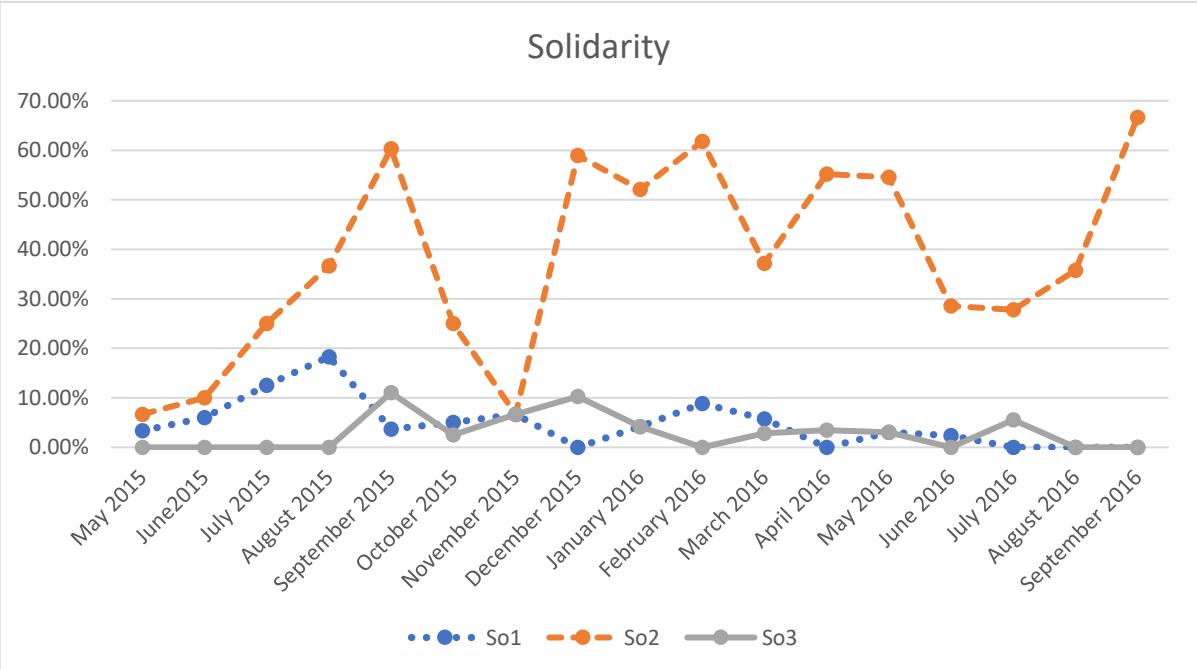
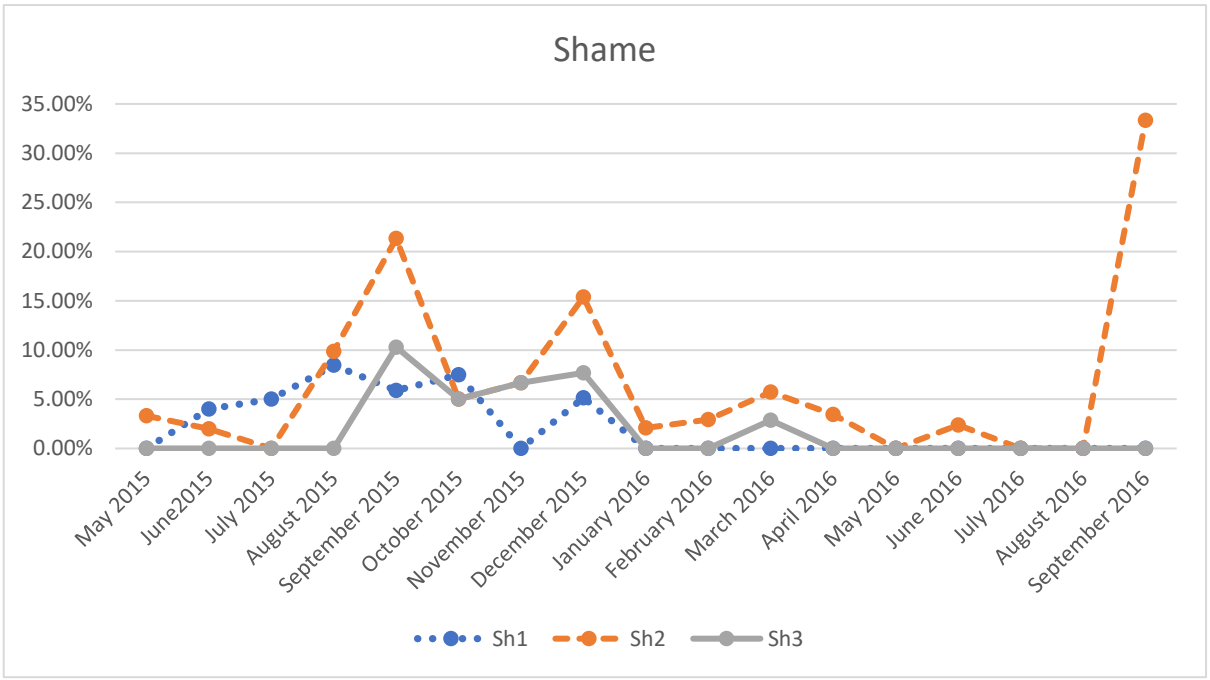
Figure 6. Proportion of articles in which different intensity levels of emotions constitutive of the refugee frame were present each month..






Shame
35.00%
30.00%
25.00%
20.00%
15.00%
10.00%
5.00%
0.00%
May 2015
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July 2015
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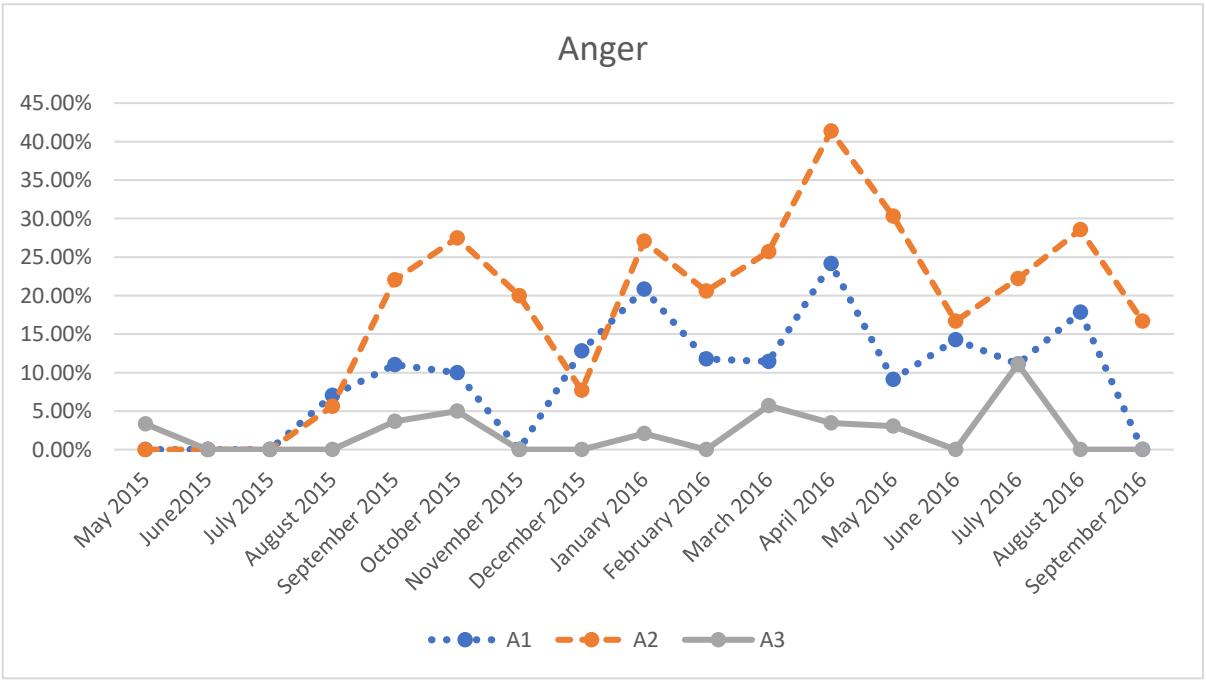
Anger
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20.00%
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May 2015
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Figure 7. Mechanisms of framing change in organization with a receptive ideology.

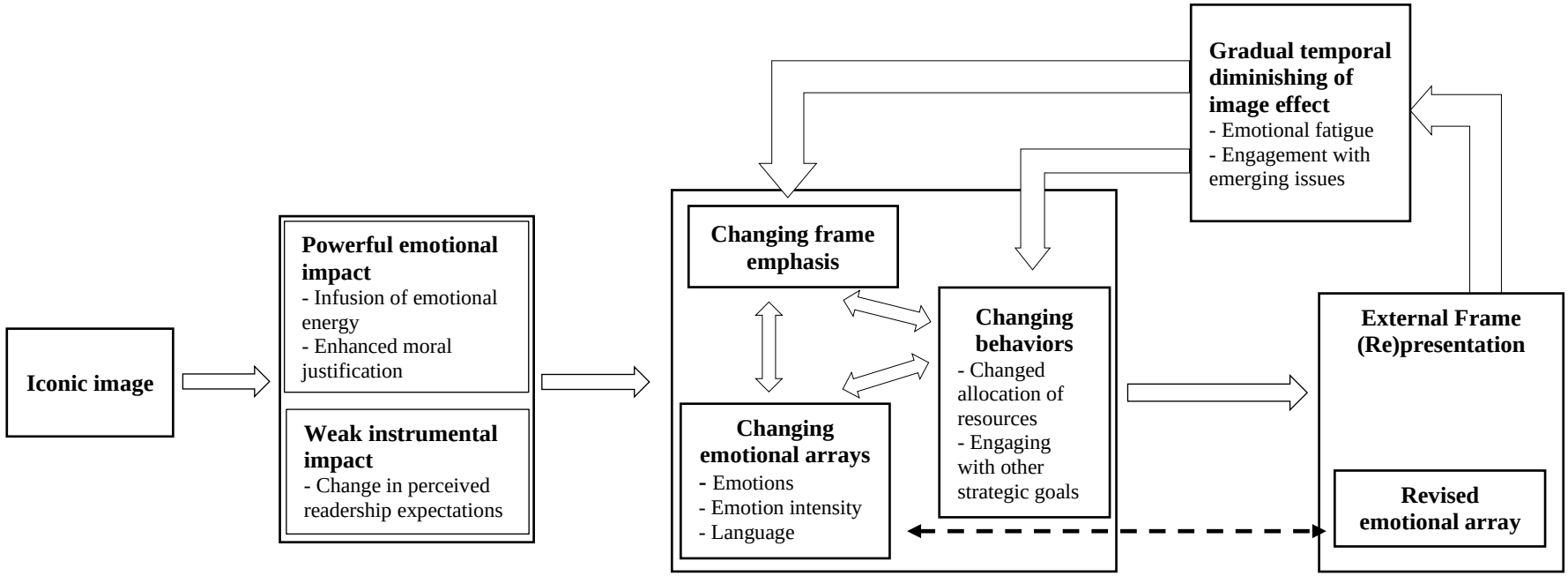

Figure 8. Mechanisms of framing change in organization with a non-receptive ideology.

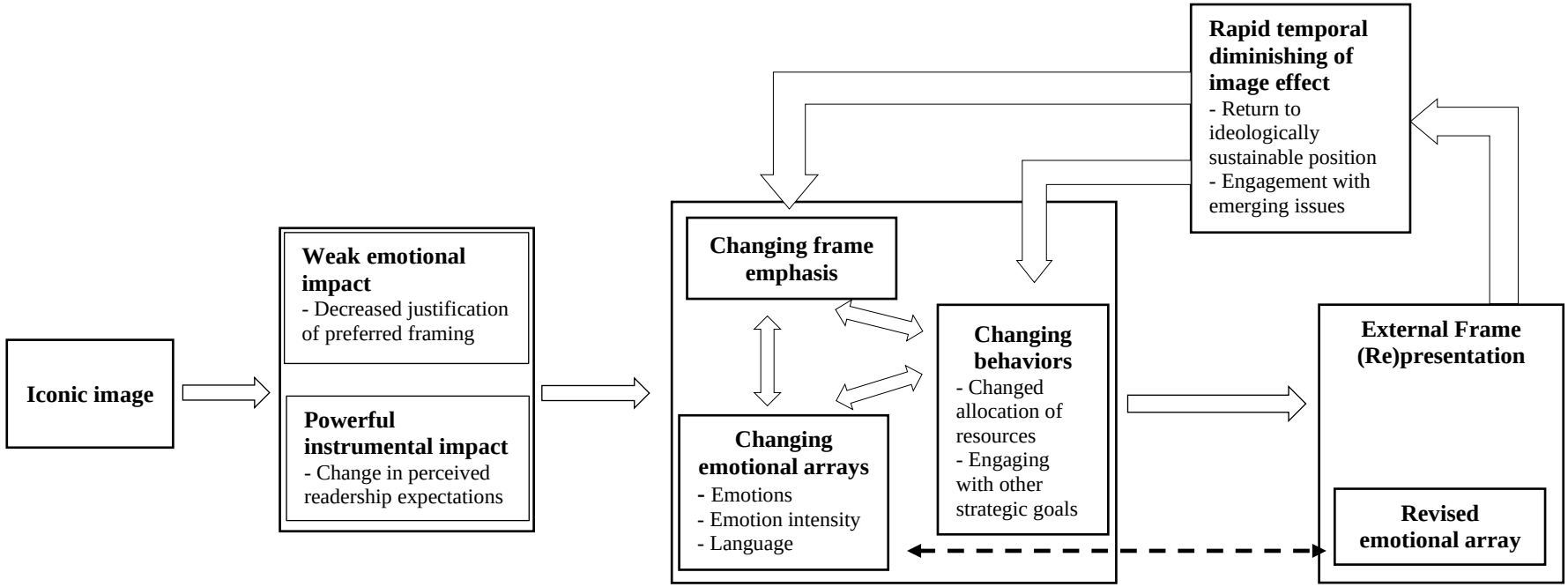

Table 1. Supporting data for emotions constitutive of the migrant frame

Anger

Anger 1

Channel Tunnel to shut at night; Sudanese migrant arrested after walking almost 31 miles through tunnel from France to England. Others have walked through tunnel, say French police (*The Daily Telegraph*, August 7th, 2015).

The migrant crisis could push Britain out of Europe, as it makes voters think "get me out of here", David Cameron has warned (*The Daily Telegraph*, December 10th, 2015).

Anger 2

Record numbers of migrants sought to sneak into the Eurotunnel site this summer to reach trains and lorries going through the Channel Tunnel. The break-ins have caused delays to thousands of Britons going to and from France (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 1st, 2015).

Every Syrian refugee who comes to Britain will cost taxpayers up to £24,000 a year, according to official figures which suggest the total bill is likely to rise to hundreds of millions of pounds. (*The Daily Telegraph*, October 20th, 2015).

Anger 3

Local services are said to have reached "breaking point", as the number of asylum-seeking children in Kent county council's care rose from 368 in March to 629 at the end of last week (*The Daily Telegraph*, August 3rd, 2015).

The home secretary, Theresa May, is to deliver her toughest warning yet that the era of mass migration of the past decade is no longer sustainable and is threatening Britain's cohesion. She is to claim that mass migration leads to the undercutting of the wages of some low-paid workers and is forcing thousands of others out of work altogether (*The Guardian*, October 6th, 2015)

Fear

Fear 1

Medical staff in Calais say they are struggling to cope with the number of seriously injured migrants, who are taking ever greater risks attempting to get to the UK (*The Guardian*, July 30th, 2015).

Arrivals of illegal immigrants by ferry double; Migrants now try to enter from Dunkirk (*The Daily Telegraph*, May 5th, 2016).

Fear 2

Hertfordshire police have questioned a Polish lorry driver after finding at least 18 migrants in the back of his vehicle amid warnings from the foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, that Europe cannot absorb "millions" of Africans (*The Guardian*, August 9th, 2015).

Fears over Libyan migrant route revival; Crackdown on the Greek border means more migrant boats from Libya, bringing terrorist danger (*The Daily Telegraph*, April 13th, 2016).

Fear 3

"When IS [Islamic State] say they will use this crisis to flood Europe with their own jihadists, I suspect we should believe them," [UKIP leader Nigel Farage] said (*The Guardian*, July 16th, 2015).

[A British lorry driver said] "This will not end any time soon, it's like a war zone and needs the army in to help control it. I do not want to be using the Calais port when heading back into the UK." (*The Guardian*, December 18th, 2015).

Disgust

Disgust 1

Calais closed down as migrants swarm (*The Daily Telegraph*, June 24th, 2015).

We've been in this 'Jungle' before: now it's time for tough decisions (*The Daily Telegraph*, August 4th, 2015).

Disgust 2

In his speech, [UKIP leader Nigel] Farage intensified some of his previous warnings about immigration to the UK, saying Europe was facing an influx of "genuinely Old Testament, biblical proportions" (*The Guardian*, July 16th, 2015).

The EU is to grant France an extra (EURO)5 million (£3.65 million) to turn the sprawling tent city known as "The Jungle" into a "refugee camp" for migrants seeking to reach Britain illegally (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 1st, 2015).

Disgust 3

More of Britain's overseas aid budget should be used to discourage mass migration from Africa so that the UK does not have to "fish" refugees out of the Mediterranean, Michael Fallon, the defence secretary, has suggested. (*The Guardian*, June 21st, 2015).

David Cameron, who remains in Britain this week on the first stage of his summer holiday, has said that the government will leave no stone unturned as it responds to what he described as the "swarm of people" from Calais. A new fence to protect the entrance to the Channel tunnel on the French side will be completed on Friday (*The Guardian*, August 6th, 2015).

Table 2. Supporting data for emotions constitutive of the migrant frame

Compassion

Compassion 1

Growing numbers of unaccompanied children and young people are living in…squalid conditions in a huge makeshift camp for migrants in Calais (*The Guardian*, July 15th, 2015).

[Scottish First Minister] Sturgeon said Scotland should follow the example of its patron saint, who she said was responsible for drawing attention to the existence of the loaves and fishes which fed the 5,000, especially at a time when "the world is touched by terror and people are fleeing their homeland in search of peace" (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 30th, 2015).

Compassion 2

More than 3,000 people - including children as young as 12 and 13 - who have fled war, poverty and oppression are living in a sprawling camp known locally as Jungle 2 (*The Guardian*, July 15th, 2015).

The pictures encapsulated the human cost of the crisis and prompted debate over whether Britain was accepting its "fair share" of refugees (*The Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 4th, 2015).

Compassion 3

My instinct when I see images of desperate people trying to make Britain their home is to greet them and try to make them feel welcome (*The Guardian*, July 2nd, 2015).

Few will have been left unmoved by the sight of the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing Syria's civil war crisis - the biggest humanitarian emergency in the world and the worst that Europe has faced since the Second World War (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 12th, 2015).

Solidarity

Solidarity 1

Those heading for Britain are a minuscule proportion of the world's refugee population. Disproportionately, they tend to be educated; with a grasp of English that they believe will make it easier to settle down and get in work (*The Guardian*, August 7th, 2015).

The First Minister, who has chaired three meetings of the Scottish Government's resilience committee in the past three days, said: "Our response [to protests against refugees] must be one of defiance and solidarity not of fear and division" (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 18th, 2015).

Solidarity 2

Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary and Labour leadership candidate…said that Britain had a proud tradition of taking in refugees and that it was time to resurrect it (*The Guardian*, September 1st, 2015).

Britain has announced a further £5 million in emergency relief to help alleviate Europe's refugee crisis as the approach of winter brings further misery and danger to thousands trudging through the western Balkans (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 2nd, 2015).

Solidarity 3

The volunteers include doctors, teachers, social workers, psychotherapists, counsellors and community organisers, who can give practical help, including spare rooms in their homes, English tuition and help with resettlement (*The Guardian*, September 4th, 2015).

Senior politicians have joined thousands of people offering to house refugees in their own homes, before an expected government decision to give refuge to around 10,000 fleeing the war in Syria (*The Daily Telegraph,* September 7th, 2015).

Anger

Anger 1

Labour leadership candidate blasts dehumanising rhetoric used by foreign secretary Philip Hammond as she seeks to implement 'proper humanitarian plan' (*The Guardian*, August 11th, 2015).

British councillors are to today visit the notorious "Jungle" in Calais for a crisis meeting on its unaccompanied refugee children, as charities say numbers at the camp have doubled to 9,000 in recent months. The meeting comes as a camp census by NGOs found the migrant population, who are mostly waiting for a chance to sneak into England on the back of a lorry, had jumped by 29 percent in the last month alone (*The Daily Telegraph*, August 18th, 2016).

Anger 2

If you feel more emotion looking at a picture of queuing lorries than a picture of desperate humans living in a lay-by, you need to check your bedtime routine for someone beating you round the head with a meat tenderiser (*The Guardian*, August 6th, 2015).

It all seems so laughable now, doesn't it? All that fuss about the people forced to spend a shocking five hours on a Eurostar train in sweltering carriages with no lights? The stories of passengers terrified by the "migrants" climbing on the roof of the train, as if they were zombies or vampires ready to suck the life out of everyone, rather than young men desperate for a life that doesn't involve beheading and raping? (Please can we start calling the men at Calais refugees, too?) (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 5th, 2015).

Anger 3

Reading of the horrendous suffering engendered by the refugee crisis, we wonder how, exactly, does the callous indifference of the British government towards people fleeing persecution and violence differ from that of the brutal people-traffickers exploiting their plight? (*The Guardian*, September 3rd, 2015).

[Filippo Grandi, UN Refugees chief said] “50,000 refugees are now left stranded in Greece living in dire conditions. We cannot respond to refugee crises by closing doors and building fences.” (*The Guardian*, March 30th, 2016).

Shame

Shame 1

Four million people have left their war-torn homeland - the UK has offered shelter to just 187, leaving more to risk their lives getting here on unsafe boats or smuggled in lorries (*The Guardian*, July 3rd, 2015).

Germany has given more sanctuary to Syrians in a month than we have in a year (*The Guardian*, September 1st, 2015).

Shame 2

The lifeless body of Aylan Kurdi has changed everything. How can we care about the inconveniences that befall holiday-makers when three-year-olds are washing up on beaches? (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 5th, 2015).

The father of Alan Kurdi, the young Syrian boy pictured washed up on a Turkish beach who became a symbol of the refugee crisis, has accused the world of turning its back on Syria as people continue to die (*The Daily Telegraph*, September 2nd, 2016).

Shame 3

The shadow home secretary, Yvette Cooper, stepped up her criticism of his refusal to accept more than a few hundred refugees. "It is shameful, utterly shameful, that our prime minister is just turning his back," she said (*The Guardian*, September 3rd, 2015).

[Actor Juliet Stevenson said] "Many people feel ashamed to be in a country where we say we will only take 20,000 people over five years... your house is being bombed this week, you are living in a refugee camp where typhoid is rife - it is no good to say we will come back in five years" (*The Guardian*, October 19th, 2015).

Biographies

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